

C-o-L increment for April will be 38.2%

By AVI TEMKIN
Post Economic Reporter

An average urban family of four last month needed about \$105,000 to buy the same amount of goods and services it did in 1980 with about \$13,700, the Central Bureau of Statistics announced yesterday. This includes the cost of housing.

The figure was announced together with the 10.7 per cent increase in the consumer price index for March that brought the index to 2,810.7 points on a 1980=100 baseline.

During the first three months of the year prices rose by 42.4 per cent, which means salaries workers will get a 38.2 per cent cost-of-living increment in their April wages. However, the value of this compensation will be greatly eroded by April's expected 20 per cent inflation rates.

March was the sixth consecutive month with a two-digit rate of inflation. In the first half year of Yigal Cohen-Orad's term as finance minister, prices rose by 121.8 per cent, which would mean an annual rate of 392 per cent.

Reacting to the inflation figures yesterday, the Treasury declared that it will continue with its current policy of restraining wages and government spending. The ministry called upon the Histadrut to reach a "social compact" that will help the inflation rate drop faster.

The rise in the CPI for March mainly reflected hikes in controlled prices and in those of basic commodities. Food prices went up by 12 per cent, flat maintenance by 12.7, transport and communication by 12.7, education and culture by 11.7, fruits and vegetables by 11 and furniture and house appliances by 10.5 per cent.

The cost of health services rose 8 per cent, clothes and footwear by 7.5 and housing prices by 8.2.

The travel tax was raised at midnight last night to \$16,950 from \$14,400.

Roy Isaacowitz adds: An agreement on the 38.2 per cent C-o-L increment was signed yesterday by the Histadrut and the Coordinating Bureau of Economic Organizations.

The increment will be paid on the basis of a two-year agreement that expired at the end of March. Histadrut Secretary-General-designate Yisrael Kassar, who signed for the labour federation, said he hopes that yesterday will be the last time the two sides signed according to the old agreement.

He called for a speedy conclusion to the current negotiations for new C-o-L increment and general wage agreements. The Histadrut is demanding that a new agreement provide for monthly payment of the C-o-L increment, while the

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 2)

Sharon in bid to calm party

By SARAH HONIG
Post Political Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Minister-without-Portfolio Ariel Sharon has been attempting to signal to Deputy Premier David Levy that he is not after his No. 2 slot in Herut and that he might be willing to make a deal. At the same time, Sharon strove to assure Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir yesterday that he does not care about which place he occupies on the Herut list.

These latest Sharon moves are interpreted in Herut as indicating that he is afraid of an onslaught by the rest of the party, after he garnered over 40 per cent of the votes in his Central Committee contest with Shamir.

The next show-down in Herut will come in early May, when the committee reconvenes to choose its list of Knesset candidates. Sharon's supporters are already claiming the No. 2 slot, but the rest of the party leaders, all of whom privately admit to being dismayed by Sharon's success, say that this time around they will battle him and not take him for granted as they did last week. The Shamir camp did almost no campaigning at all, while Sharon proved himself a superb organizer.

Levy, according to reliable party sources, has already flatly turned down the Sharon overtures and has refused even to discuss a deal. Levy, *The Jerusalem Post* has learned, replied that he intends to fight for the No. 2 position.

Party pundits do not rule out the possibility that Sharon will do what he did in 1981, when he deliberately asked his supporters to elect him to a lower slot on the list so as not to arouse Levy's ire.

These party insiders note that Levy has a great deal to lose if he does not beat Sharon, since he is assumed to be No. 2. But for Sharon the main aim is to be counted in the leadership and it would not make much difference to him if he is pushed to the third slot. The rest of the party leaders will try to push him down even further. They would like to see him ranked not only below Levy, but also below Defence Minister Moshe Arens and Finance Minister Yigal Cohen-Orad.

Sharon yesterday tried to cool temperatures in Herut during an afternoon meeting with Shamir. He told Shamir that he "is willing to accept any place. The main thing is to unite for the battle against the Alignment."

Sharon also tried to mollify Shamir concerning his job in the campaign headquarters.

While his supporters are loudly demanding that he be put in charge of organization, Sharon told Shamir

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 7)



Interior Minister Yosef Burg meets the press at the end of yesterday's cabinet meeting. (Rahamim Israel)

Shapiro compromise causes NRP uproar

By SARAH HONIG
Post Political Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Ashkenazi chief Rabbi Avraham Shapiro's proposed compromise list of National Religious Party candidates, which again features Yosef Burg in the No. 1 spot, has aroused the ire of ex-Tehiya MK Hanan Porat, the Religious Kibbutz Movement, the religious women's movement and NRP's Likud Utmura faction.

Burg has promised to step down

next winter from any cabinet post, saying he had planned retirement in 1985. But his NRP opponents doubt he would voluntarily vacate any position.

Porat has said he will not run on the NRP ticket. But his partner, Matzud MK Haim Druckman, is likely to accept Shapiro's formula, which gives him the second slot in the list.

Shapiro slotted Education

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 7)

Labour Party women demand at least 20% of Knesset list

Post Political Reporter

TEL AVIV. — The Labour Party's women members rebelled yesterday, declaring that none of them would run on the party ticket unless at least 20 per cent of the Knesset list of candidates is made up of women.

This was the first rebellion in what promises to be a stiff fight for safe slots. The party's young Young Guard may take a leaf out of the women's book, *The Jerusalem Post* was told.

The Women's Division secretariat in Labour met yesterday and demanded outright that one-fifth of the Labour list be composed of women and that every fifth slot go to a woman.

The women in the Labour Party have always been quiet, and this is seen as their first militant stand. If they do not get every fifth slot, warned the secretariat, they may

seek a High Court injunction.

The party's three leading women MKs, Shoshana Arbelli, Ora Namir and Nava Arad, each announced that if this demand is not met, they personally will boycott the list and will not seek another Knesset term.

Party campaign manager Mordechai Gur has proposed that the party choose its candidates by a more democratic means than the currently used appointments committee. He suggested elections similar to those held in Herut, which frees the party hierarchy of pressure from would-be candidates and groups backing them.

A similar suggestion was made earlier by party secretary-general Haim Bar-Lev, but it is not thought that there is much likelihood of a change.

Israel now mutes Syrian terror role

Jerusalem Post Staff
and Agencies

Israel is being cautious about publicly levelling blame for Thursday night's bus hijack, in which a woman soldier was killed and seven other passengers wounded. Top ministers and officials are pointedly avoiding a rhetorical escalation against Syria.

After yesterday's weekly cabinet meeting, a high source said it had been a "mistake" for defence officials to brief newsmen over the weekend to the effect that Syria was responsible for this particular attack.

Cabinet secretary Dan Meridor carefully declined to be drawn by reporters into an outright condemnation of Syria for the action. He indicated that Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir was being similarly cautious.

Defence Minister Moshe Arens set the tone in a television appearance on Saturday night and in remarks during a visit to Haifa's Rambam Hospital yesterday. He

spoke of recent tension along the Israel-Syria lines in Lebanon caused by Palestinian terror groups operating from behind Syrian positions.

He noted that Israel had responded two weeks ago by shelling terrorist camps within the Syrian-held area — and since then, he said, the situation had eased.

He warned that Israel would not passively suffer attacks of this kind in the future either. He did not, however, link Thursday's hijacking directly to the Syrians.

Shamir and Arens have rebutted in recent diplomatic conversations the spate of Soviet and Syrian "warnings" to Israel. They have sought to impress upon Syria, through diplomatic channels, that no such aggression is contemplated here.

Israeli sources say the Soviet-Syrian effort to heighten tension is apparently linked to the on-going instability in Damascus caused by President Hafez Assad's state of health.

The sources say it would be (Continued on Page 2, Col. 4)

Border Police anti-terror officers consider quitting

By ROBERT ROSENBERG
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Several leading officers from the Border Police crack anti-terror unit are considering quitting the force, frustrated that despite professional expertise and practically incessant training they remain basically unused in terror incidents, *The Jerusalem Post* has learned.

The unit was the first on the scene at the Ashkelon bus hijacking, but was left on the sidelines as the IDF flew its own units in by helicopter. Defence Minister Moshe Arens took command.

Established seven years ago by Asaf Hefetz, now a controversial suspended police officer, the unit's mandate is to provide the key anti-terror combat power in any domestic terror incident.

Hefetz, the hero of the 1978 coastal road massacre, was also on the scene last week, involved in consultations with the army unit that stormed the bus.

The Border Police unit has never been used in a terror incident, and instead its men find themselves used as special forces, during particularly riotous demonstrations, for special

VIP protection services, and during the occasional incident in which a deranged person takes somebody hostage in his home.

Two officers in the unit who spoke with *The Post* yesterday expressed bitterness that they were not used in the hijacking affair.

"It's not that we're bloodthirsty, it's just that this is what we're trained to do, and every time something comes along, they send in an army unit. I have plenty of respect for the army, but it makes me wonder what I'm doing in this uniform," one said.

His friend added that "I'm considering resigning, and I'm not the only one."

Senior officers in the Jerusalem area expressed understanding about the frustration. But one said that the bus hijacking was the army's responsibility in any case, since the bus came to a halt at Deir el-Balah inside the Gaza strip.

But the special unit was in top shape several years ago when the Migav Am. terror incident took place on the northern border, and the unit went unused then, too.

Smith Research Centre election poll

Solid lead for Labour as campaign under way

By HANOCH
and RAFFI SMITH
Special to The Jerusalem Post

The Labour Alignment moved to a solid lead over the Likud in a survey taken by the Smith Research Centre from last Sunday to Thursday, April 8 to 12. The Alignment led the Likud by 41 per cent to 28 per cent, as the campaign opened for the Knesset elections.

Polled were 1,157 Jews, including residents of cities, development towns, moshavim and kibbutzim.

Compared to the Knesset elec-

tion results in 1981, the Alignment gained 4 per cent, and the Likud declined by 12 per cent.

However, when compared to the Smith poll of December 1983, the changes were less radical. Over the four months since then the Labour Alignment only gained 0.5 per cent while the Likud slipped by 6 per cent.

It is, therefore, the Likud decline more than the Labour gain that distinguishes last week's poll, according to the pollsters.

In last week's poll, the list of Ezer

Weizman garnered approximately 3 per cent of this vote, and Tehiya claimed over 4 per cent.

Religious parties also scored modest gains, returning to their 1981 election results.

All these lists cut into the 34 per cent obtained by the Likud in the December 1983 poll.

Among the smaller opposition parties, no significant changes were registered. Shinui and the CRM maintained their support, and Sheli did not obtain enough support to pass the 1 per cent threshold.

Six per cent of the voters were undecided — giving no party preference. Most of these voted Likud in 1981.

A new phenomenon which emerged was the claim by 6 per cent of those polled that they will not vote on July 23. These were generally people disappointed with all the parties, again mostly drawn from previous Likud supporters.

These non-votes were not included in the calculation of the support for the various parties. Therefore, caution must be exercised in interpreting the poll results. Though Labour's lead was substantial, a significant number of voters were still undecided or thinking of not voting.

In 1981 large numbers of such voters streamed back to the Likud.

It should also be noted that the survey ended an hour before the results of the contest between Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir and former defence minister Ariel Sharon.

Hart wins in Arizona, Jackson in S. Carolina

PHOENIX. (Reuters). — Democratic Party officials yesterday declared Senator Gary Hart winner of the Arizona party caucuses with 46 per cent of the votes and awarded him 17 delegates to the presidential nominating convention.

Former vice-president Walter Mondale received 15 delegates on the basis of 40 per cent of the vote and black civil rights leader Jesse Jackson obtained 14 per cent and one delegate.

The delegate count was announced with 95 per cent of the vote in.

Jackson earlier captured 17 delegates in voting in his home state of South Carolina. Fourteen were uncommitted and Hart added seven to his total, and Mondale six.

Mondale now has 1,068 of the 1,967 delegates needed to win nomination. Hart's total is 595.

Mixed weather for Pessah picnickers

Jerusalem Post Staff

Families wishing to take advantage of the Pessah holiday for outings will be relieved to know that the cold wind and rain in the North and sandstorms in the South are due to ease up by tomorrow afternoon.

Strong winds and accompanying waves yesterday sent thousands of campers in Eilat scurrying away from the seashore. The Red Sea resort is already packed with visitors and more are expected.

Rain is expected today in most

parts of the country with possible scattered showers tomorrow morning. Temperatures today are expected to be four to five degrees below normal and there is a possibility of sandstorms in the Negev.

Today shops and businesses will close early to allow workers time to prepare for tonight's traditional Seder meal. More than 10,000 immigrants will attend special Sedarim in absorption centres and other institutions throughout the country.

The head of the Road Safety Ad-

ministration, Moshe Amirav, yesterday called on all drivers to drive carefully.

Amirav said over 600,000 vehicles are expected to be on the roads during the holiday. Last Pessah, on the eve of the Seder, six people were killed on the roads. During the entire holiday week, the number of road accidents was much higher than normal.

Amirav predicted that the two most crowded areas during the holiday will be the Galilee and Eilat. Amirav reminded drivers that there is a new regulation concerning the quantity of alcohol that a driver can consume. The police have special equipment to check this.

Gideon Kottler, general manager of the Stock wine and spirit company, said yesterday that a person should not drive if he or she drinks more than the traditional four cups of wine at the Seder. "Most important," Kottler said, "if a person feels tired or drowsy, he should let

(Continued on Page 3)

THE JERUSALEM POST
will not appear tomorrow,
the first day of the
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BRUSSELS	8-17	15-20	Clear
BUEENOS AIRES	17-22	27-30	Clear
CHICAGO	4-39	11-53	Rain
LOS ANGELES	8-16	12-54	Cloudy
FRANKFURT	1-24	19-26	Clear
GENEVA	1-30	15-24	Clear
HELSINKI	1-10	15-24	Clear
HONG KONG	18-24	21-27	Cloudy
JONANNHUB	18-24	21-27	Cloudy
LISBON	12-14	16-21	Rain
LONDON	7-15	13-15	Clear
MADRID	8-15	12-24	Rain
MUNICH	3-17	14-27	Cloudy
NEW YORK	4-39	11-53	Rain
PARIS	10-20	10-20	Cloudy
PRAGUE	10-20	10-20	Cloudy
SAN FRANCISCO	10-20	10-20	Cloudy
STOCKHOLM	5-11	13-25	Clear
TOKYO	7-15	16-21	Rain
VIENNA	7-15	16-21	Rain
ZURICH	1-30	15-24	Clear

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THE WEATHER

Forecast: Cloudy to partly cloudy. Some rain and thunderstorms. Possibility of sandstorms in the south.
Outlook for the holiday: In the morning possible rain in northern and central regions.

	Yesterday's Humidity	Yesterday's Min-Max	Today's Min-Max
Jerusalem	60	10-21	14
Golan	65	14-22	15
Nahariya	61	13-17	17
Safed	61	13-17	17
Haifa Port	81	15-19	18
Tiberias	43	14-26	19
Nazareth	—	14-20	16
Afula	63	12-21	17
Shomron	64	16-24	17
Tel Aviv	59	17-20	18
B-G Airport	60	15-22	18
Jericho	38	18-29	24
Gaza	70	17-20	18
Beer Sheva	55	18-25	19
Eilat	52	24-30	27

SOCIAL & PERSONAL

Ambassador to South Africa, Elihu Lankin yesterday met with The Jerusalem Post editorial staff and gave a review of relations with South Africa. He was accompanied by his wife, Doris Lankin, the former legal editor of The Post.

A plaque inscribing the names of Clara Szajderman of Caracas, Venezuela, and the late Icko Leib Szajderman, was dedicated yesterday on the Wall of Life on the Mount Scopus campus of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

ARRIVALS

Mr. and Mrs. Samuel Wigder of Lawrence, New York, have arrived for a personal visit to Israel and for meetings at the David Yellin Teachers College. Mr. Wigder, who is vice-president of the Friends of the David Yellin Teachers College, is accompanied by his wife, Mrs. Bernice Wigder, a specialist in Holocaust studies, who will deliver a lecture at the college.

Mr. and Mrs. Herbert Jaffee of Forest Hills, New York, for a personal visit to Israel and for meetings with officials of the David Yellin Teachers College. During their visit, they will dedicate an individual instruction room at the college's early childhood demonstration school.

Petah Tikva police chief withdraws resignation

PETAH TIKVA (Itim). — Local Police Chief Rav-Pakad (Superintendent) Ya'acov Barda has withdrawn his resignation and will return to his post today. Barda resigned after the rioting and other disturbances in Petah Tikva over cinema showings on Friday nights.

Barda's decision was taken after discussions with his superiors concerning the reasons for his original decision to resign.

Petah Tikva police yesterday withdrew their demand that the Heichal Cinema, where Friday night films have been shown, be closed pending prosecution of the owner for operating without a licence.

Police said this was a purely legal decision and was not connected with the fact that the municipality has since given the owner a licence. The charge has not been withdrawn, and the police will examine the licence before deciding whether to proceed with the prosecution.

The British Consulate-General, Jerusalem will be closed on the following days for the Passover and Easter holidays:

West Jerusalem Office
Tuesday, April 17 — Passover, 1st day
Friday, April 20 — Monday, April 23, inclusive — Easter holidays and Passover, 1st day
East Jerusalem Office
Friday, April 20 — Tuesday, April 24 inclusive — Easter holidays

HOME NEWS

Savior, Livni oppose pensions for young MKs

By ARYEH RUBINSTEIN
Post Knesset Reporter

Knesset Speaker Menahem Savor said yesterday that he and House Committee chairman Eitan Livni both oppose the committee's action on April 4 that would ensure pensions to members under age 40 who otherwise would have failed to qualify because of the early elections.

Savior told The Jerusalem Post that the committee would meet after the Pessah holiday and, among other things, it would reconsider the amendment to the pension rules.

Savior noted that since Livni has not signed the committee's resolution, it has no legal validity.

The resolution declares that an MK who would have been 40 at the normal end of the Knesset's term, but who was under 40 on the earlier dissolution date, shall be deemed to

have reached 40 for the purpose of pension entitlement.

Zvi Inbar, the Knesset's legal adviser, told The Post yesterday that there is no basis for the argument that Article 2(a) of the Knesset Rules already covers that eventuality and that there was thus no need for the resolution.

All that Article 2(a) does, said Inbar, is state that in a Knesset that does not last four years, an MK eligible for a pension on the dissolution date shall be credited with four years regardless of the actual length of the Knesset term. But it does not create eligibility.

The argument about the superfluity of the April 4 resolution was advanced by Law Committee chairman Eliezer Kulas (Likud-Liberals), the MK who would have been mostly likely to benefit from it.

Bus-hijacking victim buried

By LIORA MORIEL
Jerusalem Post Reporter

KOCHAV MICHAEL. — Corporal Irit Portuguez, the 19-year-old woman who died of wounds suffered during the terrorist attack on an Egged bus on Thursday night, was buried in this Lachish district moshav yesterday afternoon.

Among the hundreds of mourners were family and friends, soldiers, many of the attack's survivors, residents of the area, and representing the government, Defence Minister Moshe Arens.

Arens told the crowd gathered in the military section of the cemetery here: "We have been waging a war on terrorism for many years, with some success. But the campaign demands sacrifices and blood."

"We ask that the Western world

stand with Israel in an uncompromising war on terrorism. Only an effort to strike at the roots of terror and at those countries which support terror will win this war," he said.

Irit is survived by her parents, two sisters (the elder of whom is also in the army) and a younger brother. Irit was to have been married in July.

Lilly Lazar, one of the attack's survivors, said Irit had helped the hostages throughout the ordeal, aiding the wounded and helping to calm those in distress.

Seven people who were injured during the rescue operation were flown to the Sheba Medical Centre in Tel Hashomer by helicopter. Three were released after treatment. The other four are in satisfactory condition.

She finally says yes to hero of bus hijacking

Jerusalem Post Staff

The combat medic who distinguished himself in last Thursday night's bus hijacking drama and his girlfriend decided during the incident to get married, according to news reports yesterday.

The two are Ze'ev Buksenspan, 26, of Haifa, and Judith Schwartz, 22, of Ashkelon. They made their decision during the eight hours they were held as hostages on the Tel Aviv-Ashkelon bus near Deir al-Balah while the four terrorists negotiated for the release of Israeli-held PLO prisoners.

That night, related Buksenspan, "we spoke about the meaning of death and fate. Suddenly Judith turned to me and said decisively: 'If we get out of here alive, we'll get married.'"

Buksenspan, whose previous proposals of marriage to Schwartz had met with hesitation, agreed immediately.

The two met six months ago on a bus ride.

Other survivors of the terrorists hijacking described Buksenspan as

the hero of the drama. He spent much of the ride and the long wait in the Gaza Strip treating passengers who had been wounded by the police and IDF forces which pursued the bus from Ashkelon.

Talking to reporters over the weekend, Buksenspan said three passengers were hit by shots soon after the chase began.

Buksenspan persuaded the terrorists to allow him to treat the wounded. He also treated one terrorist who had been hit.

Buksenspan says he was helped by Irit Portuguez, the woman soldier who was later killed when the IDF stormed the bus before dawn on Friday.

Buksenspan said that one of the terrorists, Jamal, helped him by holding a flashlight while he was inserting a plasma needle into one of the wounded, Rav-Seren Yohanan Efron.

At one point, recalled Buksenspan, he said that if he emerged from the incident alive, he would become observant. "But I think I'll make do with marrying Judith," he said.

Disabled veteran marries his nurse

Jerusalem Post Reporter

HAIFA. — A disabled veteran from the Lebanon war, who lost his left arm and 90 per cent of his sight, was married here last night to a trainee nurse who attended him at Rambam Hospital.

Eli Tiab, aged 22, from Haifa, was wounded early in the war. As a result, he had his left arm amputated and virtually lost the sight in both eyes.

He was hospitalized for nearly two years at Rambam and later at Beit Levinson.

Eli met his bride, Ariella, also 22, from Haifa, while he was being treated at Rambam. They were married in Bat Galim last night.

Phone rates up today

Telephone rates go up 10.7 per cent today following the increase in the cost-of-living index.

A local call will cost IS6.6; phone installation will cost IS26,300; the monthly service charge will be IS629, and a telephone token will cost IS9.

Telex and overseas telephone rates will go up 14.36 per cent.

Co-L INCREMENT

(Continued from Page One)

employers would like to see a more flexible, or sliding, system.

Signing for the employers, Manufacturers Association work committee chairman Uzi Natanel said that he expects some employers

German tourist, 16, raped by four in Eilat

EILAT (Itim). — A 16-year-old girl visiting from Germany yesterday was raped on the beach here by four young men who pretended to be members of the town beach patrol.

At about 2 a.m., the four drove up in a white van with blinking rooftop lights to where the girl was sleeping on the beach with her boyfriend, a kibbutz member. The four woke the pair and told the boyfriend to leave or he would be arrested, and said they wanted to question the girl.

The boyfriend left and returned a short while later, to find the girl crawling in the sand. She told him the four men had raped her.

At first the girl refused to file a complaint with the police, out of concern that the incident would become known to her family or her kibbutz. The police eventually persuaded her to give testimony and are now hunting for four men.

AWARD — Philanthropist Archie Sherman, 72, will become the first "Trustee of Tel Aviv" next Thursday in recognition of his contribution to the state and to Tel Aviv in particular.

Mesheh said that the inflation, which he described as an intended consequence of government policy, is leading to social ferment.

Unemployment continued to be unacceptably high in March, he said, with unemployment payments 13.1 per cent higher than in February and work opportunities down by 5.8 per cent.



Christian worshippers, making the tradition Palm Sunday procession yesterday, leave the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem's Old City. (Baruch Rimoni)

Thousands of pilgrims mark Palm Sunday

Jerusalem Post Staff

Thousands of Christian pilgrims singing joyous hymns and carrying palm fronds and olive branches yesterday celebrated Palm Sunday here.

More than 5,000 pilgrims streamed down the winding road from the Mount of Olives, across a narrow valley and up the hill to the

Old City, following the route believed to be the one taken by Jesus on his last journey nearly 2,000 years ago.

About 1,200 pilgrims from Greece arrived in Haifa on three passenger ships over the weekend to celebrate the Easter holiday in Jerusalem. They are staying for a fortnight.

Two killed in road accidents

Jerusalem Post Reporter

Two men were killed in separate traffic accidents yesterday, and a Jerusalem youth was injured in another accident.

An elderly man died in hospital from injuries suffered when a pick-up truck and a bus collided in Pardes Hanna, police reported.

Name of the deceased was withheld until his family had been informed. The accident occurred at the junction of Hadekalim and Pika Streets around 5 p.m.

(Police said the pick-up truck apparently failed to stop at a stop sign at the junction and was hit by the bus. Two people in the pick-up truck and two others in the bus were slightly hurt.)

Abdullah Abu Huysheh, 77, of Beit Hanun in the southern Gaza Strip, was hit by a car while trying to run across the area's main road. He was taken to the government hospital in the area where he died of his injuries. The driver of the car, a Gaza resident, was held.

A 19-year-old Jerusalem resident

was injured yesterday afternoon when hit by a car near Sde Eliahu in the Beit She'an Valley. The car was driven by a Beit She'an resident.

The youth received emergency treatment in Beit She'an and was then taken to the Kupat Holim Hospital in Afula, where he remained unconscious.

The driver of the car also received treatment at the Magen David Adom station in Beit She'an, and was questioned by police.

Two of the three people killed in Saturday night's car pile-up on the Haifa-Acre road were soldiers on leave from their units, police reported yesterday. Another soldier was seriously injured.

All those who died were in the vehicle which veered into the opposite lane and collided head on with a van.

The dead were identified as the driver, Yosef Nitzan, 18, a soldier; Yosef Azuli, 20, also a soldier; and their friend Shimon Shimon, 21. Soldier Ya'acov Itach, was seriously injured. All four are from Kiryat Ata.

SYRIAN ROLE

(Continued from Page One)

"playing into Syria's hands" for Israel to engage in rhetorical barages of its own and thus escalate tension.

On his visit to Haifa Arens said that it was not clear whether the Syrians were directly or indirectly responsible for the bus hijacking.

It was known that many terrorist organisations had their headquarters in Syria and many receive support from the Syrians, said Arens.

The defence minister spoke at an impromptu press conference after visiting wounded Israel Defence Force personnel at Rambam Hospital.

He said there was no question that some of the terrorist activities against Israel are being carried out at least with Syria's consent.

Asked if President Hafez Assad was behind the recent wave of terrorist attacks, Arens replied that he could not tell what Assad's personal participation had been. Since Syria however was one of the worst dictatorship around, there was very little that gets done without the approval of "the top man," he said.

Arens was asked whether a confrontation with Syria could be avoided. Arens replied: "We are trying to make it very clear to the Syrians that this is a situation we don't want to contend with. We are hoping that there is going to be a change on the part of Syria."

"We have had problems in which the Syrians clearly were directly involved with PLO activities on lines separating Israel and Syrian forces in Lebanon."

We reacted with artillery and

made our feelings very clear. Since then we have had a stoppage of these kinds of activities. We hope our message is understood," he said.

Meanwhile, the Associated Press reported from Ghazze, Lebanon, that Syrian troops are reinforcing and shifting their positions along the front line opposite the IDF in the Bekaa valley.

Syrian military and political sources in the Bekaa confirmed printed reports about the recent movement of new T-72 and T-62 tanks, artillery and missiles into the valley to face what they see as a planned Israeli offensive.

"We are fully prepared to defend ourselves against any kind of offensive. If the time comes, we will use our guns," said a top-ranking Syrian officer who spoke on condition that he not be identified.

Western diplomats in Beirut say there are no indications of a major build-up on either side of the front. Instead, they say, it appears that both armies are only moving from winter positions to spring positions.

The Soviet government said yesterday that the U.S. and Israel plan to "expand in scope" their military ventures in Lebanon and that the Jewish state is threatening Syria.

The claim was made in Izvestia, the government's official newspaper, in Moscow.

"Israel is moving its troops on a large scale towards the Syrian-Israeli border and the line of contact between the Israeli occupation army and the Syrian contingent included in the inter-Arab peacekeeping force in the Bekaa valley," Izvestia said.

Resentment in Labour over 'protected' Linn and Peretz

By ROY ISACOWITZ
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Resentment is building in the Labour Party to the apparently protected status of Knesset members Amnon Linn and Yitzhak Peretz, who crossed over from the Likud benches during the last Knesset.

Many Labour members are up in arms at what they see as the creation of a Linn-Peretz faction and the likelihood of the two MKs getting safe places on the Labour list in the elections.

The resentment burst into the open at the central committee meeting last Thursday, when Linn, Peretz and some two dozen of their supporters were admitted to the committee by a general vote. Party

secretary-general Haim Bar-Lev explained that the new members should have been admitted months before, but this was not done due to an "oversight."

Bar-Lev's statement drew strong opposition from several committee members, who demanded that the Linn-Peretz team join party institutions the accepted way — via the local branches. Their *en bloc* inclusion smelted of "factionalism," the dissenters said.

At the time of the Linn-Peretz defection, it was questioned in Labour whether the two MKs, whose seats in the Likud were considered shaky, had been promised safe seats in return for switching allegiance. The party leadership strongly denied that any promise had been made.

Moda'i: Gahal accord non-negotiable

By SARAH HONIG
Post Political Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Liberal president chairman Energy Minister Yitzhak Moda'i yesterday told Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir that his party refuses to enter talks on amending the 1965 Gahal Agreement, which fixes the ration of Herut to Liberal MKs on the Likud list.

Moda'i was relaying to Shamir a Liberal presidium decision reached on Friday. Shamir and Moda'i conferred after yesterday's cabinet session.

Shamir was reportedly noncommittal and told Moda'i that he would take note of the message.

No date has been fixed for deliberations on the Gahal accord between the Liberals and the Herut team headed by Deputy Premier David Levy.

Herut members maintain that the Liberals will have no choice but to begin talks on the issue under whatever face-saving pretext they may choose. Herut insists that the issue be taken up before the elections.

SHAPIRO

(Continued from Page One)

Minister Ze'evulun Hammer third, making the top of the list identical to the NRP slate in 1981. Hammer has said he is studying the proposal, and that he "is inclined to accept it."

The next three slots would go to Sephardim — probably Tiberias Mayor Yigal Bibi, linked with Burg's Lamifne faction, followed by Eliezer Avtavi of the religious moshav movement and Yitzhak Levy of Matzad, in that order.

Yehuda Ben-Meir, of Hammer's faction, would be listed seventh, a spot which cannot be seen as a safe. Lamifne's Avraham Melamed would be eighth. The next slot, originally assigned to Porat, would go to Matzad's Yosef Shepra.

The tenth slot is assigned to a Sephardi from Hammer's faction, followed by a woman. Only the twelfth slot will go the Likud Utmura faction, headed by Dr. Yitzhak Raphael and former MK David Glass. The kibbutz representative would only come next to be followed by the Likud Utmura man.

Shapiro's plan calls for the first 15 candidates and eight distinguished

rabbis to form the party leadership, which would decide if the party would join a coalition and who its ministers would be. Apart from Burg, all ministers would be obliged to resign their Knesset seats in favour of the next in line on the list.

Shapiro foresees the NRP winning 12 seats, twice what it has today. Party insiders do not share his optimism.

The plan has aroused an uproar everywhere in the religious Zionist camp, apart from Burg and from Matzad, which is satisfied with the considerable slice of the NRP cake awarded it.

Gush Emunim sources loyal to Porat charged that Porat was "sold down the river by Matzad. Porat gave up his Tehiya Knesset seat and his position in that party in return for a deal with Lamifne. But as many of the NRP's veteran insiders warned him, he remained out in the cold. He refused the ninth slot and even the seventh one offered him later, saying that under the chief rabbi's plan, the NRP would not really change its Porat-based orientation. Considering running on his own, as is the religious women's movement and the Likud Utmura faction."

SHARON/SHAMIR

(Continued from Page One)

he is willing to settle for any assignment.

One idea mooted in Herut headquarters yesterday was to neutralize the battle for No. 2 by putting former premier Menachem Begin in that slot. But that option is not seen as serious, since it is far from clear that Begin would give his approval, and even if he did, the main Levy-Sharon battle would merely be moved to the battle for third slot.

Another proposal concerning the

former prime minister is to ask him to record messages, which would be relayed via loudspeakers to the audiences at mass outdoor meetings.

Some in Herut are still talking about getting former chief of staff Rafael Eitan into Herut. It is thought that Eitan would serve as a counter-balance to Sharon. Some still support a national electoral bloc made up of the Likud, Tehiya and Matzad. Overtures have apparently been made to Eitan, and he did not dismiss them out of hand.

Soviet visit to Cairo augurs better ties

CAIRO (Reuters). — A former Soviet ambassador to Egypt, Vladimir Polyakov, was expected in Cairo last night amid signs of progress towards the normalization of Soviet-Egyptian relations.

A Foreign Ministry spokesman said Polyakov was coming as a special envoy for talks with ministry officials.

No clear explanation has been given for his visit, but observers see it as another step in the gradual improvement of Soviet-Egyptian relations since President Hosni Mubarak assumed office in 1981.

Polyakov, the last Soviet ambassador here, was expelled with six of his staff in 1981 when the late president Anwar Sadat accused Moscow

of fomenting sedition.

It was Sadat, also, who ordered some 17,000 Soviet military advisers out of the country nearly nine years earlier — a step which virtually ended almost 20 years of close links between Moscow and Cairo.

Mubarak and

Heaviest-ever traffic at Ben-Gurion

By JOSHUA BRILLIANT
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Ben Gurion Airport yesterday experienced the heaviest traffic in its history with some 145 flights carrying close to 25,000 passengers.

Police, Customs, Tourism Bureau and Airport Authority personnel were on hand in increased numbers to handle the heavy holiday traffic.

El Al operated 55 flights, an average of more than two trips a day per aircraft. One Boeing-767, for

example, left for Frankfurt at 2:20 a.m., returned at 12:20 and left again for Frankfurt shortly after 3 p.m.

Bookings were so heavy that the national carrier chartered a DC-10 from the French UTA, another DC-10 from the Swiss Balair, a Boeing-747 from the Dutch Transavia — and sent its Eilat-bound passengers on two planes chartered from Arkia.

Pressure of departing Israelis and tourists was sometimes very heavy and a queue for the security and

pre-flight check-in stretched outside the terminal building.

Police passport control personnel manned all 24 booths in the arrival hall. Consequently passenger traffic appeared to flow smoothly.

The problems seemed more in the collection of luggage. The conveyor belts proved to be too short and workers had to arrange luggage on the floor.

Today 67 flights are expected between 5 a.m. and 8:30 p.m.



Transport Minister Haim Corfu (second from left) watches the procedures at Ben-Gurion Airport during the terminal's record-breaking day yesterday.

WZO report questions value of shaliah system

By ARYEH RUBINSTEIN
Jerusalem Post Reporter

The efficacy of the emissary (shaliah) system is open to question in the 1980s, according to a report made public yesterday by a committee of the World Zionist Organization Executive.

The committee, headed by Youth and Hehalutz Department chief Avraham Katz, recommended that an outside body conduct a more thorough study of the subject, which would include possible alternatives to the current system.

The executive is due to debate the report at its first meeting after Pessah. Yesterday it heard committee members, who include executive members Uri Gordon and Eliezer Shefer.

The committee said an emissary's wife plays a decisive role in his success, and urged that before a candidate is appointed "appropriate

weight" be given to the qualities of his wife. It called for the expansion of the preparatory training given to wives, and said that they should be encouraged to get involved in the life of the local Jewish community.

Another recommendation is that knowledge of the language of the target country be an essential condition for appointment. At present, the attitude often is that an otherwise qualified candidate can pick up the language in his first few months on the job.

Cooperation with the Jewish National Fund and Keren Hayesod, with the object of avoiding duplication with their emissaries, was also urged.

Executive chairman Arye Dulzin rebuked Katz at the beginning of the meeting for having leaked the committee's recommendations to a reporter before they were submitted to the executive.

PESSAH

(Continued from Page One)

someone else do the driving."

Pessah is also the time for the annual meeting of the Society for the Protection of Nature, whose theme this year is Mt. Carmel. From Wednesday, the society will man information booths for hikers at various points in the Carmel forest and distribute pamphlets outlining suggested routes. For details call the society at 03-375063.

The Jewish National Fund has enlisted volunteers to distribute garbage bags to picnickers in its forest throughout the country. The JNF also warns that visitors to the centre and South should avoid touching cocoons, similar to spiders' webs, hanging from branches. A substance on the cocoons, which are now prevalent due to the unseasonable winter, can cause severe eye infections.

In Safad, the Hameiri family was disappointed at the refusal of former prime minister Menachem Begin of their invitation to attend their family Seder in the town's Old City. Begin informed them he would celebrate the Seder with his own family in Jerusalem.

Some 250 people are expected to attend the Hameiri family Seder, many of them former members of the Betar youth movement and former commanders in the Irgun Zvai Leumi, the pre-state underground movement.

In Haifa, six hotels will host about 20 elderly people without families for the Seder.

All bungalows at the Israel Camping Union's 18 sites from Upper Galilee to Eilat are booked for the holiday. There is still room for tents at the sites, but these are expected to be filled if the weather is fine.

At 10 a.m. today the seventh annual "Children's World" opens at the Tel Aviv Fairgrounds, remaining open through next Monday.

This year's events will feature appearances by American TV stars Robert Guillaume (*Benson*) and Albert Hall (*Flame*), in addition to local entertainers.

In Ashkelon, British tourists will be welcomed for the fourth annual Pessah Open Day on Thursday, the local Joint Israel Appeal's Project Renewal office announced. Tourists can reserve places at special JIA desks in four hotels: Goldar (Netanya), Dan Accadia (Herzliya), King David (Jerusalem) and Dan Tel Aviv.

The programme will include a tour of the town's Project Renewal projects, street theatre and other entertainment, lunch and visits to people's homes.

Two-thirds of Ashkelon's population (40,000 people in several neighbourhoods) are involved in Project Renewal, which is twinned to the Jewish community of the UK.

4 Nazareth men held for killing gazelles

Jerusalem Post Reporter

KIRYAT SHMONA. — Four Nazareth men were arrested in Beit She'an last week after officials of the Nature Reserves Authority found five dead gazelles in their jeep. They are liable to a \$250,000 fine and a year in jail for killing a protected species.

An American tourist was fined \$50,000 in the Safad Magistrates Court yesterday for shooting a gazelle.

Galilee bakery cuts bread supply day early

Jerusalem Post Reporter

KIRYAT SHMONA. — Regular white bread was not available in the North yesterday, just a day before Pessah.

The regional bakery in Kiryat Shmona only baked what it called "improved halla" priced at \$569 per loaf, instead of regular halla at \$549. Regular black and brown loaves were unavailable.

The Galilee bakers threatened to take this measure in a meeting last week with representatives of the Ministry of Trade and Industry. The bakers say the ministry should either raise prices or raise the subsidy to make it worthwhile to bake bread.

The ministry spokesman said the ministry would check reports about unavailability of regular bread in the North. The ministry would not hesitate, said the spokesman, to take legal steps against any bakery which broke the law.

Moda'i wants to limit police probes to year

By ROBERT ROSENBERG
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Energy Minister Yitzhak Moda'i tried to get the cabinet yesterday to back a proposed law that would limit police investigations to one year. But opposition from the police, the attorney-general and the justice minister forced him to withdraw his proposal for two weeks, until the next cabinet meeting when there will be a vote on the proposal.

Moda'i said he was submitting his proposal because "of my own experience." He had been under investigation by police, who eventually dropped the case. But the publicity surrounding the probe was such, he said, "that most people wouldn't have been able to stand up to the pressure."

Justice Minister Moshe Nissim,

Interior Minister Yosef Burg, Attorney-General Yitzhak Zamir, Inspector-General Rav-Nitzan Arye Ivizan, and the head of criminal investigations, Nitzav Yehzekel Carty, all spoke against the proposed bill.

Nissim said "no country in the world" has a law limiting police to any time period of investigation. While the justice minister agreed there "is a problem" with media publication of police inquiries, the way to solve the problem was by legislation banning publication of a suspect's identity until he is arraigned in court.

One way to deal with the problem would be to establish administrative criteria enabling a senior investigative officer to close an inquiry after a certain amount of time, some of the opponents suggested.

Poland will publish works on Holocaust

Jerusalem Post Reporter

KIBBUZ LOHAMEI HAGETA'OT. — The Polish government has for the first time asked for and received permission to publish poems and documentary evidence concerning the Holocaust, the curator of the local museum said yesterday.

At a press conference here, curator Zvi Shner announced that the Polish authorities will publish poems by Yitzhak Katzenelson on the slaughter of Jews in concentration camps and the testimony of Yitzhak Zuckerman on the 1943 Warsaw Ghetto uprising. The works will appear in Polish and Yiddish.

The Polish government has also invited some 40 youths from several kibbutzim to visit that country in July.

Herzog receives JDC anniversary Seder plate

Jerusalem Post Reporter

President Chaim Herzog has received a special Pessah Seder plate from the world director of the Joint Distribution Committee, Ralph Goldman, in a ceremony at Beit Hanassi marking the start of the 70th anniversary year of the JDC.

The Seder plate is a copy of one made at a displaced persons camp in Germany in 1948, inscribed with the words: "This year in Jerusalem." (The phrase "Next year in Jerusalem" is traditionally recited at the conclusion of the Seder.)

Heading the delegation of the JDC-Israel which accompanied Goldman last Thursday was Michael Schneider, 44, new director of the JDC-Israel.

Holon woman dies reportedly after receiving injection

By D'VORA BEN SHAUL
Jerusalem Post Reporter

The Institute for Forensic Medicine has not issued a statement concerning the sudden death last Thursday of Dalia Oren, 26, of Holon, who reportedly died after receiving an injection in the office of her private physician.

"Medical sources in Jerusalem told *The Jerusalem Post* last night that the symptoms described in the press indicate that she died of anaphylactic shock.

Oren, who had suffered from bleeding and abdominal pain during both of her previous pregnancies, reportedly went to her private doctor on Thursday, accompanied by her husband Baruch, to see if the pain and bleeding she was experiencing might indicate a third pregnancy.

The husband waited in the waiting room while his wife went inside. A few minutes later he heard the doctor shouting, "Dalia, breathe! Dalia, wake up!" The husband ran inside and helped the doctor to give his wife artificial respiration. They took her to Ichilov Hospital in the doctor's

car, as the Magen David Adom telephone was busy. Dalia Oren was pronounced dead at the hospital.

Medical sources said anaphylactic shock can happen to anyone at any time, even though statistically it is rare. It is not like any other allergy and people have died from eating a piece of chocolate, a shrimp cocktail, taking an aspirin or having an injection to remove a tooth.

Oren's physician reportedly said to her husband that he had given her an injection just before she collapsed.

The physician has referred all inquiries to his attorney, Eliahu Kedar, who was unavailable for comment last night.

REHABILITATION. — Among the recipients this year of the President's Prize for Volunteering will be Herut Lapid of Kibbutz Ayelet Hasbahar and the prisoner rehabilitation department of the United Kibbutz Movement, which he heads.

Ambassador denies military links with South Africa

Jerusalem Post Staff

Israel's Ambassador to South Africa Eliahu Lankin last night categorically denied a report in the *Sunday Times* of London on close Israeli-South African military cooperation, calling it "tendentious, a fantasy that I have no doubt is not objective, a distorted picture."

The allegations of close but covert links between South Africa in military, intelligence and trade enterprises were published yesterday in the *Sunday Times*.

In a two-page article by James Adams, the "paper's" defence correspondent, based on his book, *The Unnatural Alliance* (to be published this week), he describes Israel as "perhaps the closest ally of South Africa, a nation which continues to scandalize world opinion with its racist policies." Adams claims that, although the true extent of the relationship between the two countries has been "a well-kept secret," it has now emerged as "a major new force on the world scene."

In Israel, on home leave, Ambassador Lankin told *The Jerusalem Post* that "it appears Adams relied on information more full of lies than truth."

Twenty-five thousand Israelis live in South Africa, Adams writes, many on "government-to-government contracts, especially on

arms and energy projects." According to the International Monetary Fund, South Africa trade with Israel is "minute", representing only 0.6 per cent of its total exports and 0.5 per cent of its imports. But "official figures take no account of the trade in diamonds or military equipment," Adams asserts.

For South Africa, "trade with Israel has special attractions. Israel has preferential access to both the EEC and U.S. Semi-processed iron and steel can be shipped from South Africa, finished at the Iskoror Factory near Tel Aviv and then shipped on to Europe or America complete with a 'Made in Israel' stamp. Such an arrangement is perfectly legal and lets South Africa share the benefits of Israel's trading advantages."

On the military side, Adams claims that there are around 300 Israeli officers and men in South Africa helping to train soldiers, sailors and airmen. "At the same time, serving South Africans are based in Israel, particularly at the port of Haifa, where they are trained on equipment purchased by the Pretoria government."

There is also, he writes, "considerable sharing of intelligence." South Africa has in fact adopted many of Israel's tactics in countering the terrorist threat and Israel's

success with the PLO "encouraged South Africa to invade Angola at the beginning of the year," he maintains.

While Israel officially has no dealings with the South African military following the UN embargo of 1977, Adams claims there is "ample evidence that arms suppliers have continued to operate uninterrupted." To help South Africa take advantage of its range of products, Israeli technicians, from Tadiran, Elbit, and Israel Aircraft Industries have combined to help South Africa design and build its own electronics manufacturing capability. So successful has this been that South Africa is now able to produce many articles for export," says Adams.

Israel has supplied a remote-controlled drone aircraft "cramped South Africa has deployed with South Africa has deployed with success in both Mozambique and Angola. In addition, a joint venture between Rotoflight Helicopters of Cape Town and Chemavir-Masok of Israel produced the Scorpion helicopter now deployed by both countries," he writes.

The Gabriel missile deployed on the Reshet missile boat is now manufactured under licence in South Africa, it is alleged, while Pretoria has taken delivery of at least six Dvoraclac (sic) fast patrol boats.

Eliav to run for Knesset on own list

By LEA LEVAVI
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Arie Lova Eliav will run at the head of an independent list in the Knesset elections because the Labour Party (of which he was formerly secretary-general) has not responded to signals that he wants to "come home."

"I'll come home via the ballot box," he told reporters at Beit Sokolov yesterday. "That's true Athenian democracy."

As soon as the decision to hold early elections was made, friends approached Labour and Mapam leaders on Eliav's behalf, but returned empty-handed.

Eliav feels the Labour Party, which had swung to the right at the time he left it, has now come around to views closer to his own.

Eliav brought with him people typical of those who will be on his list: people who worked with him in the Negev and Galilee, farmers (kibbutz and moshav), an expert on electronics and a doctoral student whose parents were among the founders of Kiryat Gat.

Drobbless would leave WZO for Knesset seat

Jerusalem Post Reporter

Matityahu Drobbless, co-chairman of the World Zionist Organization settlement department, intends to run for the Knesset even if he has to resign his post, it was learned yesterday.

Drobbless, who has been promised a safe spot on Herut's share of the Likud list, said he would like to continue as settlement chief if elected.

But the Jewish Agency's legal adviser thinks this would constitute a conflict of interest.

Arye Dulzin, chairman of the WZO Executive, said he is inclined to agree with the legal adviser.

Adams also claims that the two countries are cooperating in the nuclear field, on the basis of South African uranium being exchanged for Israeli technology. The CIA, he says, believes that the two countries were jointly testing a nuclear device in the Indian Ocean in 1979, though this is denied by Israel.

Adams concludes: "As more and more African leaders come to rely on Israeli-trained bodyguards to maintain their precarious grip on power, it will become less and less easy to muster opposition to Israel and South Africa in political forums like the United Nations. Both Israel and South Africa are stronger than at any time in the past 10 years. Together they can continue to defy the world."

Ambassador Lankin denied that there are Israeli security personnel training South African soldiers; that there are government-to-government contracts; that South Africa is a joint partner in the Lavi project; that there are 25,000 Israelis in South Africa; and other details in the Adams report.

There are maybe "half as many" as that," said Lankin, adding that they are *yordim* (emigrants), the way there are *yordim* in Germany, the U.S. or Adam's own England. There may be *yordim* working in an arms factory in England — but nobody sent them to work there and nobody questions that."

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PRIZE. — The Bialik Prize for Literature has been awarded to writers David Shahar and Yehoshua Bar-Yosef by the Tel Aviv municipality.

The spokesman for the Israel Council for the Prevention of Road Accidents, which is sponsoring the visit, said the incident took place yesterday, when the visitors joined a regular activity of the council's traffic observers at the Ahituv junction in Western Galilee.

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Greece urges UN to rap Turkey over Cyprus

MISSOLOGY (Reuters). — Greek Prime Minister Andreas Papandreu yesterday urged UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar to end what he termed background diplomacy over Cyprus, "turn words into deeds" and denounce Turkey publicly.

Perez de Cuellar has been engaged in diplomatic efforts at a solution to Cyprus's 10-year-old division between ethnic Greeks and Turks, since the Turkish-Cypriots proclaimed an independent state in November.

Addressing thousands of supporters in this western Greek town at a rally commemorating the Greek war of independence against the Turks, Papandreu said: "I want to send a political message to the UN secretary-general. Have the courage to talk openly about who is ruining world efforts for the peace, unity and independence in Cyprus. I call on you to give the Greek and Cypriot people an answer."

10,000 refugees flee Vietnamese raid

BANGKOK (Reuters). — Tank-sprung Vietnamese troops attacked a major Khmer Peoples National Liberation Front (KPNLF) guerrilla base near the Thai-Kampuchean border yesterday, causing thousands of refugees to flee into Thailand's Aranyaprathet province, a senior Thai official said.

He also said a Thai reconnaissance aircraft was shot down along another part of the border two kilometres inside Thai territory by Vietnamese anti-aircraft fire. Fate of the pilot and crew was not known, he said.

Prasong Soonsiri, secretary-general of Thailand's National Security Council, said the Vietnamese started bombarding a KPNLF base at the town of Ampil before dawn yesterday.

The camp, which houses about 42,000 civilians, was then attacked by Vietnamese troops, Prasong said. He gave no estimates of casualties, but said the attack pushed more than 10,000 refugees into Thailand.

Vietnam has about 180,000 troops in Kampuchea backing the Heng Samrin government.

Spanish colonels cashiered, jailed for plotting coup

MADRID (Reuters). — A Spanish court martial yesterday cashiered three army colonels and sentenced them each to 12 years and a day in prison for plotting a right-wing coup to stop a general election which swept the Socialists to power in 1982. The sentence was the minimum allowable for the offence of conspiracy to carry out rebellion.

A fourth colonel was acquitted. The court martial, announcing its verdict following an all-night sitting at the end of a five-day hearing, recommended that the colonels serve just four years, since the plot had little impact and the conspirators were arrested before they had a chance to act on their plans.

The ruling left the government of Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez free to decide between the full sentence or the recommended reductions.

Sri Lanka accuses India of bullying

NEW DELHI (AP). — Sri Lankan President Junius Jayewardene says India is trying to bully his country on the Tamil-Sinhalese ethnic conflict but that he won't submit to "sabre-rattling."

In an interview with *India Today* news magazine, Jayewardene also said he does not foresee a repeat of the ethnic rioting that claimed at least 400 lives last July.

Asked if Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's government was trying to "bully" Sri Lanka, Jayewardene said, "that's what they are trying to do. Some people in Tamil Nadu are asking Mrs. Gandhi to invade us. I know she won't do that."

Hanoi accuses China of border forays

BANGKOK (AP). — Vietnam charged yesterday that Chinese forces have been shelling and intruding into four northern Vietnamese border provinces since Tuesday.

The official Vietnam news agency VNA, monitored here, said at least one Vietnamese and several Chinese have been killed in the attacks.

VNA said the armed forces and people in those areas "promptly struck back, destroying many enemy artillery positions, and killing and capturing a number of Chinese intruders."

No verification of Hanoi's claims was available. The two countries have accused each other of border provocations since a six-week border war in early 1979.

Iranians elect new parliament

NICOSIA (AP). — Iranians went to the polls yesterday to elect a new Majlis (Islamic parliament), the second since Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini's Islamic revolution of 1979, the official Iranian news agency reported.

In a dispatch monitored in Nicosia, said Khomeini and his son, Hojatoleslam Ahmed Khomeini, were among the first to cast their secret ballots at Khomeini's Hussein Jamaran headquarters in Tehran.

About 20 million eligible voters are choosing the 270-member parliament from more than 1,500 government-approved candidates, including 17 female candidates from Tehran.

One-fourth of the candidates are young clergymen.

Crash of arms transport still mystery in Costa Rica

SAN JOSE, Costa Rica (AP). — After a week of investigation, officials appeared no closer Saturday to solving the mystery surrounding the crash of an arms-laden, unmarked DC-3 and the deliberate burning of its victims.

The twin-engine cargo plane crashed into a jungle-covered mountainside about 24 kilometres south of the Nicaragua border the night of March 23, killing an undetermined number of people.

The crash was reported by Jose Loria, a reporter for *La Prensa Libre*, an afternoon newspaper in San Jose, on April 6. He led officials to the site four days later.

Loria said residents told him armed men arrived at the site hours after the crash, burned the bodies of seven victims and buried them in a common grave. He said he was told the unidentified men also recovered boxes of arms from the wreckage.

Loria said residents of the area, one of the most remote in Costa Rica, also told him that the victims included four men who appeared to be North Americans.

The DC-3 crashed in a region known to be a staging area for anti-Sandinista guerrillas waging a U.S.-supported war against the Nicaraguan government.

The bodies and evidence were burned again on the night of April 9, shortly before Loria brought investigators to the site.

Sikh militants burn 30 railway depots

CHANDIGARH, India (AP). — Sikh extremists set fire to 30 railway stations and hurled bombs at four others in coordinated attacks early yesterday morning in the troubled state of Punjab.

A police spokesman called it a "planned terrorist action" carried out by squads of eight to 10 armed militants. Stations were burned in nine of the state's 12 districts, but no casualties were reported, the spokesman said.

Crude explosives were hurled at four other stations, but caused only slight damage.

The United News of India quoted informed sources as saying the attack was carried out by the outlawed All-India Sikh Students Federation, which is agitating for greater religious and political rights for Sikhs in Punjab.

LA PAZ (AP). — President Hernan Siles Zuazo's economic measures, the toughest of his 18-month rule, left some cities paralyzed, while businesses awaited new prices and the government set up an emergency committee to provide food.

Thursday evening the government increased the price of rice 837 per cent, the price of bread 560 per cent, petrol 400 per cent, sugar 234 per cent, and bus fares 200 per cent. The peso was devalued from 500 to 2,000 pesos to the U.S. dollar.

Friday evening workers staged protest marches in the cities of Potosi, Sucre, Oruro and Cochabamba. A few stores were ransacked, the authorities reported.

Soviet plane strays over French naval base

TOULON (Reuters). — French military authorities have begun an inquiry into a flight by a Soviet civilian airliner over a secret French naval base.

A communiqué issued by Marseilles military authorities on Saturday night confirmed reports that a Tupolev 134 of the Soviet airline Aeroflot had strayed into prohibited airspace over the naval base at Toulon on Friday.

Informed sources said the air-

craft, on a flight from Moscow to Marseilles via Budapest, ignored several warnings from civilian air traffic controllers that it had diverted 45 kilometres from its approved flight path into a restricted area.

The sources said the Tupolev had flown low over the naval base, where France's first nuclear attack submarine Rubis and the aircraft carrier Foch were in dock.

Chinese man, 83, cycles 6,000 kilometres

PEKING (AP). — An 83-year-old Chinese man has reached the 6,000-kilometre mark after seven months on a lone bicycle trek around China, the official news agency Xinhua said yesterday.

It said Wu Keli, who started his journey September 3 in northwest China, wants to cycle the whole country in three years.

A maker of potted landscapes by trade, the robust old man made and sold art crafts in exchange for travelling expenses, the agency said.

Rich sex-murder suspect killed in U.S.

COLEBROOK, New Hampshire (Reuters). — A millionaire Florida businessman, who was a suspect in rapes and murders involving 11 women across the U.S., was shot to death on Friday in a struggle with a New Hampshire state police detective.

Christopher Wilder was spotted by state troopers here when he pulled into a petrol station to ask for directions to the Canadian border.

Wilder resisted arrest, and in the ensuing scuffle with one of the troopers he reportedly shot himself with the officer's gun.

Meanwhile, in Los Angeles, a 16-

year-old girl who spent nine days with Wilder told of a nightmare journey in which he threatened to kill her, tortured her and often placed a gun in her mouth, Los Angeles police reported on Saturday.

Wilder enticed Tina Risico, who wants to be a fashion model, into his car on April 4 by offering her \$100 to pose for photographs, police said. He used Risico to entice other victims, they said.

Risico was travelling with Wilder when he stabbed Dawnette Wilt, also 16, in the chest and back near Rochester, N.Y., the police said.

Wilt survived and identified Wilder as her attacker.

Risico was also travelling with Wilder when he shot and killed Beth Dodge in Buffalo, N.Y., they said.

However on Friday, Wilder put Risico on a plane in Boston so she could return to her home outside Los Angeles, police said.

"Somehow, Wilder may have become aware of the great pain she had suffered and developed a respect for her," a psychiatrist who examined her said, explaining why the alleged killer may have released the girl.

Zimbabwe army accused of mass atrocities

LONDON. — Widespread killings and torture have been committed by troops in the southern Matabeleland area of Zimbabwe, a British editor reported yesterday.

Donald Treford, editor of London's *The Observer*, said he visited the region and had first-hand evidence "showing the scale of suffering since a curfew was imposed on February 3." The region is populated by the minority Ndebele tribe, which supports opposition leader Joshua Nkomo.

Treford said he had a written ac-

count by a man who dug a mass grave and then "watched his neighbours shot down by an officer who leaned against a tree and turned on his radio-cassette to cover the noise."

The report blamed brutalities on the Fifth Brigade of the Zimbabwe National Army, which became notorious in accounts last year of repression in northern Matabeleland.

The editor said he had several accounts of a Fifth Brigade major, who was not identified, holding up a

dead baby before villagers and saying "This is a dissident baby. This is what will happen to your babies if you help dissidents."

Meanwhile, Prime Minister Robert Mugabe has told Catholic bishops to stay out of his government's affairs as a clash between church and state over army conduct in Matabeleland erupted for the second successive year.

At a news conference in the Matabeleland provincial capital of Bulawayo Saturday, Mugabe said the bishops were trying to undermine unsuccessful army counter-insurgency efforts by charging that troops on a sweep against rebels in the area had committed atrocities against civilians, including killings, torture, rape and beatings.

Mugabe told reporters he wished the bishops "success in their prayers and the running of their churches, but the task of running the country belongs to the government."

Last year, the bishops accused the army of killing hundreds of civilians in northern Matabeleland.

In a speech Saturday night, Mugabe told the country's 11,000-member Asian community that it need not fear mass expulsion, as had happened elsewhere in Africa, "I seize this moment to assure all (Asians)...they have nothing to fear from the government," he declared. (Reuters, AP)

U.S. professor freed in Beirut after 2 months

BEIRUT (AP). — Frank Regier, an American University of Beirut engineering professor kidnapped near his home, was released yesterday after more than two months of captivity.

Regier, and another kidnnap victim identified as Christian Joubert of France, appeared at a news conference held at the home of Nabih Berri, leader of the Shiite Muslim militia Amal.

Regier was taken prisoner February 10.

Sports

Halifa hurt in hijack

By JACK LEON

TEL AVIV. — Yeheskie Halifa, one of Israel's most promising long distance runners, was wounded on the hijacked Tel Aviv-Ashkelon bus last week. The 20-year-old soldier was one of the passengers who managed to escape by jumping out through a rear window when the tires were shot out, but he received a bullet wound in the arm.

He was on his way at the time of the hijacking to his home in Moshav Ezra. He is now recovering in Sheba Hospital.

Halifa was training hard for Tuesday's mini-marathon in Jerusalem, and was one of the runners expected to be in the running for victory. In fact, he said recently that he had high hopes of winning the prize, a trip to the U.S.

Halifa has been riding high in the last few weeks, taking the national title at last month's Tel Aviv half-marathon and winning the prestigious Mount Tabor cross-country unrun over 11-km, only a week ago.

The highly-rated Halifa — a member of ASA Tel Aviv — was Israel's junior cross-country champion and was also the country's top 5,000 and 3,000-metre runner in the under-19 age category. Last year, he represented Israel in junior competition in the world cross-country championships in Gateshead, England, and put up a credible performance.

Halifa told me recently that he looked forward to more international outings when he completed his military service, and in the meantime he was keeping his hand in by competing in as many local long-distance races as possible.

Meanwhile, Israel's marathon star Zohar Shavit, Sunday's runner-up in the Olympic marathon of 26.2 miles for the 4th time, when she finished sixth among the women competitors at the Rotterdam Marathon in a time of 2:43.81. The 29-year-old mother-of-two was already a definite starter for Los Angeles though, and now she has not only the Israel Olympic Committee but also the Israeli women's marathon, while the past 11 months as strictly required by the IOC.

Shlomo in Monte

By JACK LEON

Shlomo Glickstein tries his luck this week at Monte Carlo, a happy hunting ground for him, where he plays Pablo Arraya of Chile in the first round of the \$350,000 Monte Carlo Grand Prix Tennis Tournament. By a quirk of fate, he met Arraya in the same tournament last year, and beat him in the second round, after defeating Ivan Lendl in the first round.

In Luxembourg, Lendl yesterday won his 25th official tennis tournament this year, the \$200,000 Luxembourg Grand Prix, beating Tomas Sandberg, 6-4 in an all-Swedish final.

In Nice, Andre Agassi of Ecuador won the Nice Open Tennis Tournament when he beat defending champion Henrik Sundstrom of Sweden 6-1, 6-4 in the final.

At Hilton Head Island, top seed Chris Evert Lloyd defeated No. 3 Zina Garrison to win the \$100,000 Family Circle Magazine Cup.

Lloyd, who dispatched Garrison 6-1, 6-4, will face unseeded Claudia Kohde-Kilsch of West Germany in the final. Kohde-Kilsch swept last season's Family Circle Cup, 6-4, 6-0.

Kings are in

KANSAS CITY, Missouri (AP). — Mike Woodson scored 21 points and Reggie Miller added 17 more to lead the Kansas City Kings to a 108-96 victory over the Houston Rockets on Saturday night for a berth in the National Basketball Association playoffs.

The game marked the end of a 16-year professional basketball career for Houston centre Elton Hayes, who logged an NBA record 50,000 minutes of playing time.

Kansas City was scheduled to play-off games against the Los Angeles Lakers starting Wednesday.

The San Diego Clippers beat Utah Jazz 146-128. The Milwaukee Bucks ranked 10th in the Eastern Division with a 41-41 record. The Philadelphia 76ers beat the New York Knicks 103-100, and the Cleveland Cavaliers edged the Washington Bullets 117-109. The 76ers, the Knicks and the Bullets are all in the play-offs. Milwaukee has their fifth straight Division title. Atlanta won a second place. Despite their loss, the Jazz have already clinched the Midwest Division title.

Ralph's new men

By DON GOULD

TEL AVIV. — The West German national basketball squad, coached by Ralph Krieger, the former Maccabi Tel Aviv and Israeli national team coach, left yesterday for home, after spending two days in intensive coaching at the Wingate Institute.

Their final workout before departure was to play an unofficial practice game against the former Maccabi Tel Aviv and Israeli national team, which they won by a score of 20 points, after being seven points down at the half.

Krieger coached Maccabi Tel Aviv and Israeli many victories, and the Germans are hoping that he will revolutionize basketball in their country by producing unexpected successes.

Bloom, Shalev win

KAMAT HAHARON. — Gidon Bloom and the Under 18 boys won a 3-2 victory over the Tel Aviv team in the 1984 Tennis Tournament here by defeating Menashe Tsor 6-1, 7-5. Sarit Shalev won girls' event, beating Yael Vitale 7-5, 6-1.

Lye still leads

AUGUSTA, Georgia (Reuters). — Mark Lye preserved his surprising lead in the U.S. Men's Golf Championship today as a thunderstorm swept the Augusta national course for the second time, bringing the third round to a premature halt.

When play was abandoned for the day, the 21-year-old Californian was nine holes par for the hole, one ahead of Tom Kite.

Cricket

Australia 362 (Smith 127, Matthews 54). Playing Windward Islands.

ROWAL. — The owners of the Tel Aviv coffee-house Rowal opened a second coffee house in Rehovot last night and said to hope to open more in different parts of the country.

Silicon Valley—plenty of millionaires and divorces

SAN FRANCISCO (Reuters). — There are more than 15,000 millionaires in the 40-kilometre strip south of here known as Silicon Valley, the high-technology heartland that for many Americans is a synonym for success.

The Valley, as residents call it, has the fastest-growing and wealthiest economy in the U.S. It is already the country's ninth largest manufacturing centre and creates 40,000 jobs a year.

Its heroes are people like Steven Jobs, co-inventor of the Apple

Computer, who earned an instant \$156 million when his company, which started in his parents' garage in 1976, went public in 1980. Jobs is still under 30 years old.

The long working hours, fierce competition and high pressure that are routine in the Valley take a heavy toll on family and individual relationships, according to a recent study by Judith Larsen and Carol Gill, who work for a small Silicon Valley research firm.

They note, for example, that the divorce rate is tremendous. In 1980

in Santa Clara County, which includes most of Silicon Valley, there were more divorces than marriages.

The rate is higher than in California as a whole, which has a rate 20 per cent above the national average.

The cost of living is high, particularly as regards housing. According to published figures, the average price of a one-family home jumped 250 per cent between 1974 and 1979, and in 1981 a so-called "economy" home cost \$175,000.

According to John Shea, a company security adviser, Valleybusines-

men are a highly motivated and "aggressive group of overachievers" who might sell secrets if they are short of cash.

A U.S. official said last year that at least 35 espionage cases in the Valley were being investigated.

A common myth about Silicon Valley, with its rows of campus-like factories set amid neat lawns, is that it is socially and culturally homogeneous. According to the study by Larsen and Gill, the working population of Silicon Valley has two distinct tiers, with little overlap.

At the top are the engineers, scientists and designers who are predominantly male, white and wealthy. The lower level comprises production workers who are generally female.

"Victims of the Silicon Valley ethic probably outnumber the successes 10 to one."

Israel Lands Administration

Central District

Kiryat Ekron Local Council

Arim Urban Development Co. Ltd.

Owner-Occupier Construction at Kiryat Ekron Remaining Plots

Several plots are still available at the above site in the published Owner-Occupier construction framework. The plots will be allocated to the public on the basis of updated land value and development outlay.

Other conditions are as stipulated in the original prospectus, and subject to the mandatory changes stemming therefrom.

The plots will be allocated to the public from 10 a.m. on April 24, 1984 on a first come first served basis.

A draw will be held among those present at the time indicated as the beginning of registration.

At the time of registration, to be held at the Arim office, 4 Reh. Herzl, Kiryat Ekron (opposite Bank Hapoalim), a IS 50,000 bank cheque must be deposited to the account of the Arim Urban Development Co. Ltd. This sum will be considered as a down payment on the development costs.

Further details are available at the above Arim office.

This notice in effect until June 25, 1984.

Jerusalem District

Offer for Purchase of Flat at 13 Rehov Kovshei Katamon, Jerusalem

Tender No. JM/84/5

The Israel Lands Administration invites bids for a lease contract for the flat and area, details of which at the time of publication of the tender, were as follows:

Block	Parcel	Flat area (sq.m.)	Land price (IS) (to be paid separately)	Minimum price for flat (IS)	Deposit (IS)
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30009	5/7	91	5,573,710	8,258,322	400,000
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Further details and bid forms are available at our Jerusalem district office, 34 Rehov Ben-Yehuda, 12th floor, Tel. 224121, during regular working hours. Visits to the flat possible on Friday, April 27 and May 11, 1984 between 9 a.m. and 11 a.m.

Deadline for submitting tender bids is 12 noon on May 16, 1984.

Bids not in the tenders postbox by the above time for any reason whatsoever, will not be considered.

The Israel Lands Administration does not undertake to accept the highest or any bid.

Haifa District

Offer for Lease of Plot for two-Family Building at Danya Bet, Haifa

Tender No. H/84/6

The Israel Lands Administration invites bids for lease of a plot for two-family construction. Area details and plot construction potential at the time of publication of the tender, were as follows:

Block	Parcel	Plot	Approx. area (sq.m.)	Gross building ratio	Minimum price (IS)	Deposit (IS)
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12251	15	513	819	32%	8,448,826	425,000
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12254	130					
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Further details and bid forms are available at our Haifa district office, 13 Rehov Ha'azmaut, during regular working hours.

Deadline for submitting tender bids is 12 noon on May 18, 1984.

Bids not in the tenders postbox by the above time for any reason whatsoever, will not be considered.

The Israel Lands Administration does not undertake to accept the highest or any bid.

Jerusalem District

Offer for Lease of Multi-Storey Construction at Mekor Haim Quarter, Jerusalem

Tender No. JM/84/7

The Israel Lands Administration invites bids for a lease contract for the area, details of which at the time of publication of the tender, were as follows:

Block	Parcel	Approx. area (sq.m.)	Total of licensed area (sq.m.)	Total of construction % on 3 floors	Minimum price (IS)	Deposit (IS)
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30130	6	1266	818	75	20,339,888	1,000,000
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Further details, and bid forms are available at our Jerusalem district office, 34 Rehov Ben-Yehuda, 12th floor, Tel. 224121, during regular working hours.

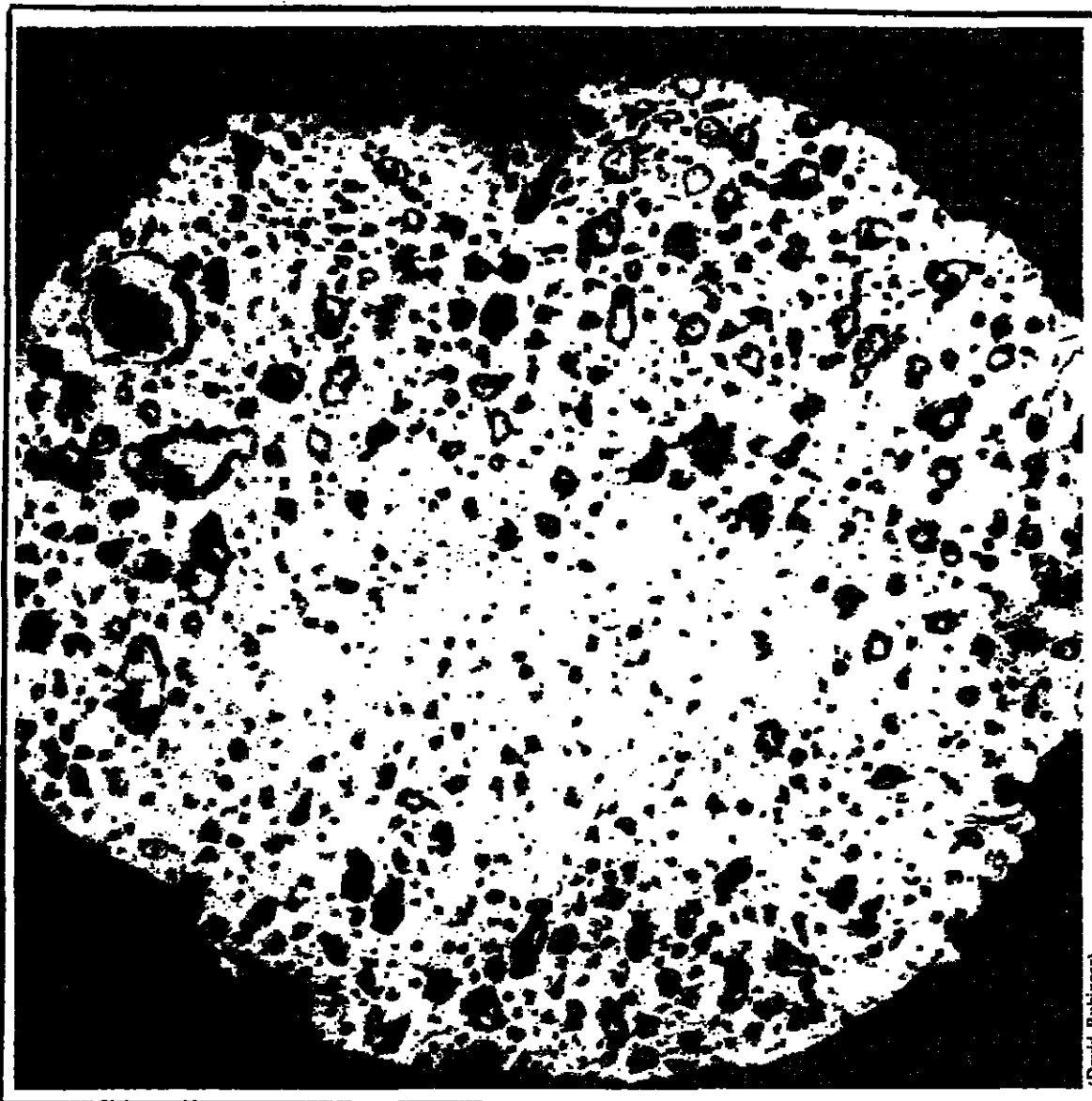
Deadline for submitting tender bids is 12 noon on May 18, 1984.

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The Israel Lands Administration does not undertake to accept the highest or any bid.

The psychology of oppression

By C.C. Aronsfeld/Special to The Jerusalem Post



(David Rubinger)

THE STORY of Pessah invites comparison between the policy of Pharaoh and that of Hitler. Like the Germans, the Egyptians also had a "Jewish problem," which called for a "solution." The children of Israel, said the new king, "are too many and mighty for us." Like modern anti-Semites, he saw Jews everywhere, hatching a Protocols of Zion-type conspiracy whose aim was to control Egypt, if not the world, and he proposed to "deal wisely with them."

Pharaoh's policy was to reduce the Jews in number and spirit, although not to murder them indiscriminately, as is shown by his order to kill the male Jewish babies while sparing newborn girls.

But some commentators are not so sure. J.H. Hertz thinks Pharaoh's intention was to "make an end of the Israelites altogether," if the girls were allowed to live, it was merely because they "would not prove dangerous in war," and would not stop "the remnant of the Israelite people (being) absorbed in the native population."

This opinion is open to argument. Women — certainly Hebrew women — have shown their mettle in war as well as in peace. And, of course, Jews of neither sex are easily "absorbed."

However, with this discriminatory order, Pharaoh proved himself different from Hitler, who never compromised in his obsession to do away with every single Jew. While Pharaoh spared the Jewish girls, the Nazis were specifically ordered to murder all Jewish children, as they might grow up to take revenge. The Nazis evidently sought to improve on the Egyptians, "those Hamitic fools," whom Richard Wagner chided for not having made sure that the Jews "descend into the Red Sea never, never to emerge from it."

Pharaoh began by introducing forced labour. This may have been a sudden decision; more likely it was the sequel to an earlier move which Samson Raphael Hirsch describes in these terms: "The Jews, while retaining such rights as they had, would pay a special tax for their protection; then they would be degraded to the status of slaves, creatures without any right of appeal or redress of wrongs committed against them."

In any case, the purpose was to check the Jews' natural increase and so to break their spirit. This, in turn, was only a stage on the road to more drastic action. For while on the one hand the Jews were put to work of national importance, building for-

resses against possible invasion as well as arsenals for Egyptian armies about to advance eastwards, at the same time their lives were made bitter with "crushing oppression."

If this was ineffective in advancing the work in hand, it was effective in frustrating the general policy of reducing the Jews, for the more they were "afflicted," the more they multiplied. Pharaoh lacked the sophistication of Hitler, who knew how to make slave labour one way of enforcing his Final Solution.

When this part of his policy failed, the king moved on to the next stage: killing the newborn males. He did not strike at the adult population; he did not deport them to extermination camps. In fact, Nachmanides, the Ramban, credits him with eminently moral scruples. He says that if Pharaoh did "not regard it as a wise step to put the Israelites to the sword," the reason was that it would have "constituted rank treason to persecute without cause a people that had come to the land at the bidding of his royal predecessor."

On this point, a modern commentator, U. Cassuto, disagrees: "The new pharaoh was not bound to the Israelites by any ties of gratitude for what Joseph had done for Egypt."

BOTH COMMENTATORS seem to assume a straight line of succession, which in fact did not exist. For the rulers at the time were not all Egyptians. Egypt had been invaded by the Hyksos, and either the pharaoh of the Exodus or the ruler at the time of Joseph could have been an invader. If the pharaoh of the Exodus was one of the Hyksos, and Joseph served an Egyptian, then it is obvious why he "did not know Joseph," or did not want to know him. Certainly he had no reason to respect the memory of Joseph. If, on the other hand, he was an Egyptian and Joseph served the Hyksos regime, it would also make sense that the pharaoh didn't care to remember Joseph, chief minister of the hated occupation power.

But whatever we assume, and irrespective of the origins of the pharaohs of the period, the fact remains that no government is likely to be bound by ties of gratitude. The good that men do is often buried with them and forgotten. And certainly no service Jews ever rendered

to the countries in which they lived has yet saved them from persecution. The German Jews provide a classic example.

As for Pharaoh's procedure, the Ramban says, as if Egypt had been a parliamentary democracy: "The people would not have allowed the king to commit this violence, since he had not consulted them," if only because the Jews were "a mighty and numerous people who would make war with them." While Ramban

takes Egypt's propaganda at face value, it seems more likely that the Jews were neither mighty nor numerous. Pharaoh merely said they were.

Oddly enough, a modern Israeli commentator adopts the Ramban's ill-founded argument. Nehemiah Leibowitz seriously suggests that Pharaoh had to consider those people who "would not agree."

"Internal public opinion must be placated. He could not suddenly

order the indiscriminate slaughter of people who had been good neighbours for so long."

Couldn't he? Many of Hitler's subjects would also probably not have agreed, but he didn't have to consult them. Terror and propaganda made sure that "public opinion" did not count.

The Ramban is on more realistic ground when he explains that Pharaoh suggested "a device by which the Israelites would not feel that any

hostile act was being committed against them." Everything was done "dexterously, so that the crime should not be known."

This is precisely how the Nazis acted. They developed a special terminology which shrouded their designs in rational-sounding words like "resettlement," "special treatment," and "solution of the Jewish question." Heinrich Himmler was explicit in his insistence on absolute secrecy.

The midwives in Egypt were also ordered to act in secrecy, to make sure that even the mothers should not know what was going on. They did not, however, "obey orders," like so many Nazi underlings. They heeded the voice of conscience; they "feared God."

The Ramban remarks that when the midwives failed to cooperate, Pharaoh did not give the order to his chief executives. He told "the people" to carry it out, and they raised no objection when "spying and informing were made acts of loyalty and compassion was stamped as high treason." This is just how the Nazis acted when they sought to smother local resistance by jeering at "humanitarian infatuation."

That there were not a few decent people in Germany is shown by the frequent scorn heaped on them. But they were powerless. Similarly, it may be assumed that not all the Egyptians were in automatic agreement with the king and that those who promptly went off to search Jewish homes for children, entering at night and indifferent to the cries of the parents, were in fact not (as the Bible says) "the people," but the equivalent of incited hoodlums, indoctrinated stormtrooper bullies.

In this respect, the Ramban is perhaps right when he thinks that "the people" had no sympathy with such violence and had certainly not been consulted. Hirsch also makes the point that "this first instance of *rishus* (anti-Semitism) on a large scale is noteworthy for the fact that it arises not from the Egyptian people but from the ruling classes. It is the king who stirs it up and assigns high reasons of state for making it a national policy. This has often repeated itself in history."

YET HISTORY also tells a different tale. In medieval England, writes historian Dean Milman, "popular

opinion which, in the worst times, is some restraint upon the arbitrary oppressions of kings, would rather applaud the utmost barbarity of the monarch (Henry III) than commiserate with the wretchedness of the (Jewish) victims," and though Edward I expelled the Jews, he had good reason to defy public opinion, but found he could not. Cromwell would have openly welcomed the Jews but, Milman says, "public opinion and religious sentiment more especially were not ripe for so revolutionary a measure."

But if we agree (with Hirsch) that often enough the initiative does come from the top, then there is a point in what Leibowitz says: "Even the most corrupt ruler cannot suddenly exterminate a people without the shadow of a pretext. There must be some semblance of justice, if only to satisfy his own conscience" (assuming he has one).

This certainly applies to Hitler. The extermination of the Jews was shrouded in unceasing propaganda for that "semblance of justice" which would benefit humanity by relieving it of the "Jewish plague," the "racial bacilli" of the Hebrew "pest" and so on.

The king of Egypt hit on an excuse that would cover up whatever seemed expedient. He employed the anti-Semitic time-dishonoured lie: the Jews "might join our enemies and fight against us." (Medieval anti-Semites like Martin Luther accused the Jews of spying for the Turks.)

The point has been made by a modern Egyptian historian. In a book entitled *Jews, Their History and Beliefs* published in Cairo in 1981, Dr. Kamal Saafan claims that the Israelites were agents of the "foreign invaders" seeking to expand influence of the "colonialist Hyksos empire." His findings that the Jews invaded Palestine because they believed the Promised Land to be an ideal centre for achieving world domination will perhaps be regarded with some caution.

With this allegation, the Egyptian historian almost literally echoes Hitler in *Mein Kampf*. The Jews, Hitler wrote, want a Jewish state in Palestine only as "a centre of their organization for the purpose of controlling the world through an international system of low-down trickery."

And so the story comes full circle, from Pharaoh to Hitler and ending, somewhat macabrely, with a modern Egyptian who clearly knows the Jews little better than his royal ancestor.

Beating the black market

By YITZHAK OKED/Jerusalem Post Reporter

agricultural produce.

At the wholesale market in Tel Aviv, they estimate that about 40 per cent of all agricultural produce sold in Israel is irregular. One wholesaler claims that this is a record and that the situation was not as bad last year. He fears that next year will be even worse.

Beersheba wholesalers are complaining, too. Haim Tropper, who has been a wholesaler in the Negev's capital for the last 30 years, claims that he cannot remember such a sorry situation. He can't understand the government that is not willing to crack down on these black marketeers.

"Every kilo of produce that goes through us at the wholesale market pays all the taxes, while the black market produce doesn't pay any taxes. There aren't enough controllers," he says.

"During a week that controllers or special policemen are not working in this area, my turnover can be about IS500,000-IS600,000. When they are making their rounds in Beersheba and its surroundings, my weekly turnover can reach IS2m. or more."

Tropper also complains bitterly about the fact that the various production and marketing boards

have not united to form an overall controlling and policing force. "It could save quite a lot of money and increase considerably the number of people available for the unit," he is confident that a united force would put an end to this kind of marketeering.

THE CMB's ONNE does not agree with Tropper, although he might be expected to have an axe to grind, especially since an overall unit would no longer be responsible to him or the CMB alone.

"It wouldn't work. It would be like trying to breed a cat with a dog. My unit comprises 11 automobiles and 36 people, of which 13 are special policemen."

"The laws governing the CMB are different from those of the Fruit Production and Marketing board, or the vegetable or poultry boards."

"Remember we are talking about laws that have been passed in the Knesset. I don't have to tell you how long it takes to pass laws in the Knesset."

"Our controllers and special policemen are the only ones that can walk around in the markets looking for produce," Onne says. "The fruit, vegetable or poultry people wouldn't have anything to

do in the market, since they can't tell black market produce from taxed produce."

All the citrus products are washed and coated with wax, so that if one of my men walks through the market and sees produce that is unwashed and uncoated, he knows that it has been smuggled in."

Simha Offer, general manager of the Vegetable Production and Marketing Board, told the Post that a committee has been set up by the Ministry of Agriculture to try and merge the existing controlling units into one. Offer is confident that an agreement will be reached, and, unlike Onne, is optimistic about what it can achieve.

"It will bring about considerable savings and an enlargement of the unit. Most important, the new unit will be much more effective."

And the legal adviser of the Ministry of Agriculture informed him, says Offer, that the legal problems in merging the existing units would not be very big.

A DAY SPENT with Haim Onne and his team patrolling Beersheba's markets revealed a dedicated group of men ever on the lookout for ways to beat the citrus black marketeers.

Yigael Ozer, 44, has been a special policeman in the CMB for 18 years. He doesn't look like a TV policeman; on the contrary, he is small and thin, with a heavy moustache that gives him a harmless and friendly look.

But all this, says Onne, is camouflage. Ozer is one of the toughest guys in the team.

Recently, while tracking down a known black marketer in Yavne, the policeman had the door of a pick-up truck full of oranges slammed

shut on his fingers. Not only that, the driver then shot off at breakneck speed, with Ozer hanging on with his injured fingers. Like something out of a TV thriller, other police units gave chase until the driver was caught.

One emphasizes that the driver is now also having the book thrown at him for trying to kill an officer of the law and obstructing

justice.

Ozer told *The Jerusalem Post* that during the "season," which for him starts early in September and ends somewhere in July, he doesn't have regular hours. Sometimes he can be on his feet for 24 hours during a *hamin* or in wet weather.

What keeps men like Ozer on the job? The policeman smiles bashfully. "It's my job."

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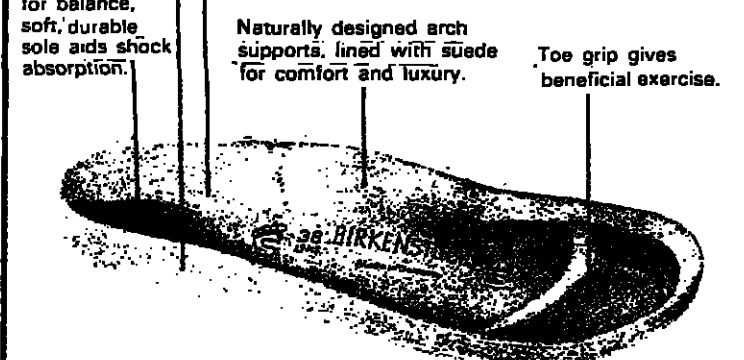
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- Hadera: Machon Ortopedi Midrach, 15 Rehov Rambam, Tel. 063-32732.
- Haifa: Loewi-Lastra Shoe Shop, 130 Sderot Hanassi, Tel. 04-82397. Sheinman Shoes, 15 Rehov Herzl, Tel. 04-862132.
- Jerusalem: Shaul Shoes, 8 Rehov Shmuel Hanagid (cor. Rehov Bezalel). Tel. 02-226578. Boutique La'ahot, Clal Centre, shop 210A (available in white only). Tel. 02-242648.

PASSOVER eve. Well-dressed people and children on their best behaviour are making their way to the banquet hall of a five-star hotel. The decor is modern, with just a touch of the Orient. Heavy drapes cover the windows. Elegant tables, gleaming silverware, sparkling glasses, deferent waiters.

True, the food is less than superb and the French chef has been heard to groan audibly while making *meatloach* under the supervision of embassy ladies. Nor did he get a chance to show his worth with the traditional chicken and vegetables or the fruit salad. Israeli wine and matzot grace the tables.

Throughout the world similar Seders are being held in similar hotels. This is the yearly gathering to celebrate the exodus from Egypt. Here, this night is truly different from all the other nights. This Seder from all others. For if one parts the heavy drapes over the windows, the river shimmering under the full moon is the Nile. And the soldiers guarding the hotel are Egyptians.

The time is March 28, 1983. The Israeli community in Cairo is celebrating its fourth Seder in the land of Pharaoh. The feeling of wonder, of expectancy, has begun to wane as if its edge had been blunted by repetition.

It hasn't been an easy year for the Israelis in Cairo. The cold peace has set in. There is no sparkle to the evening; only the children are having fun.

And yet the ancient text has not changed. Each word, each line takes here another, deeper meaning. Perhaps we have said them so many times in so many places that we don't hear them anymore.

"If the Holy One, Blessed be He, had not brought our forefathers out of Egypt, we, and our children, and our children's children, would still be slaves of Pharaoh in Egypt."

But we are here, of our own free will. To tell the tale that must be told. And we have the unbelievable privilege of telling it not as slaves, not as exiles, but as free men, official envoys of the State of Israel to Egypt. Here, in Cairo, we are chanting in Hebrew the ancient songs transmitted from generation to generation to commemorate the Exodus, while the Egyptians look at us in polite puzzlement.

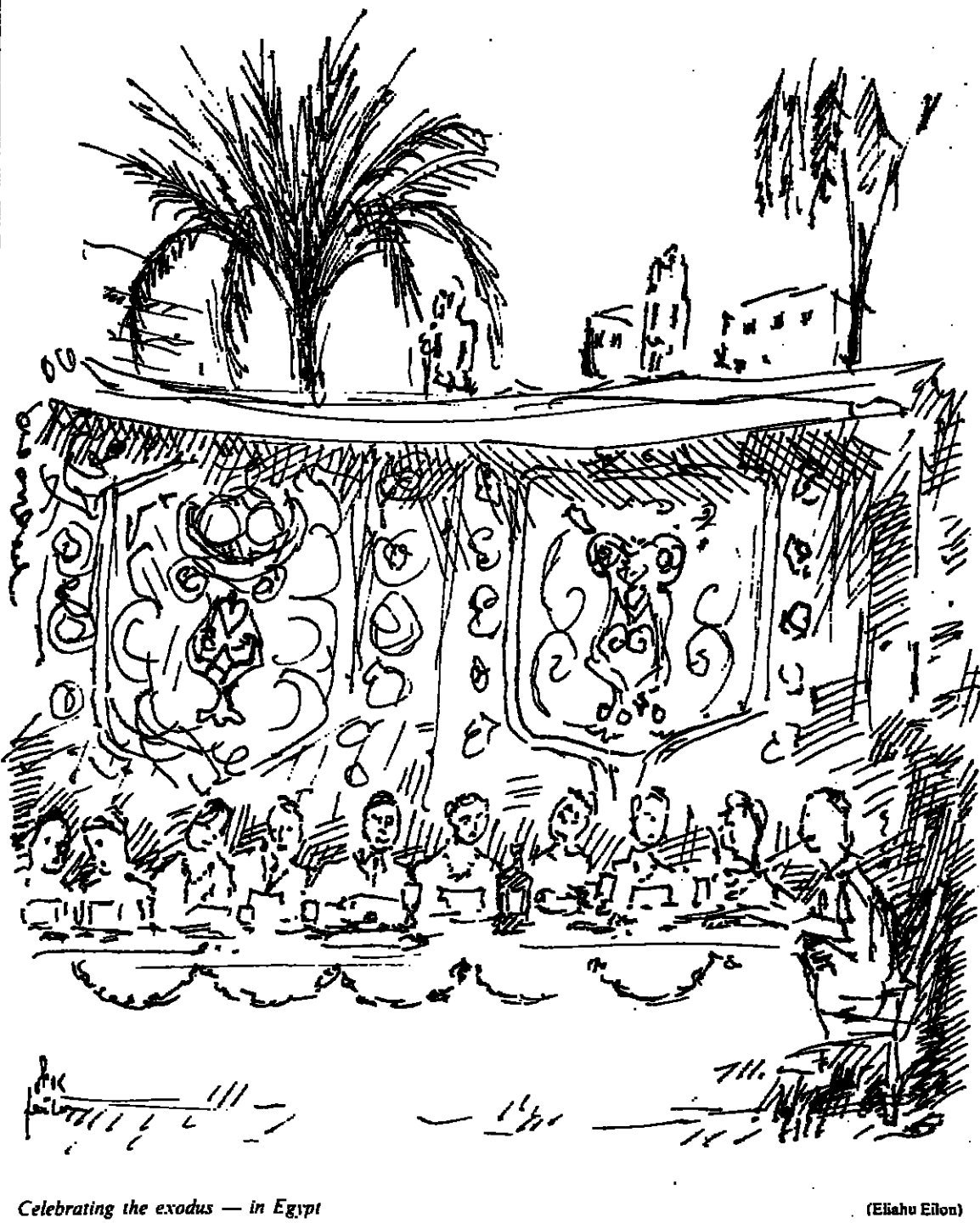
And I think, as always, that a public Seder in a big hotel makes you lose the flavour of the ancient tale of bondage and suffering with the Almighty One delivering his children and setting them on the road to the Promised Land.

My first Seder in Egypt in 1981 had been quite different. It was the Israeli's second Seder in Cairo but the first one with their families.

The embassy had decided to invite the entire Jewish community to participate, as its guests. About 200 had indicated that they would come, including a handful of

Exodus reversed

Michelle Mazel celebrates Passover in Egypt.



Celebrating the exodus — in Egypt

(Elihu Eilon)

Karaites, those Jews who do not recognize the Talmud. Since it would not have been possible in a hotel, the Seder was being held in the garden of the ambassador's residence.

A huge tent had been erected, one of these gaudy, multicoloured affairs which in Egypt are used in-

differently for weddings and for funerals. Everybody had been drafted to help set up the long, tree-tables, every family had contributed tablecloths, candle holders, Haggadot, strings of coloured lights, bulbs festooned the tent.

The electricity company had sent a truck with a generator in provision

of the almost daily power failure (it did not happen that evening, but it did happen a few weeks later on Independence Day). There were children everywhere. Posing for a picture, a dish of Haroset and a plate of Matzot at prearranged intervals; getting underfoot; sampling unobtrusively

the food on the tables.

Adults, printed lists in hands, were busy setting place names. And what a task it had been to establish the table plan without offending local susceptibilities. The Israelis had been spread among the many guests to ensure mingling and a smooth running of the Seder.

In the kitchen it was pandemonium. Several embassy ladies were there helping the bewildered Egyptian cook; many had prepared dishes at home and brought them. The chicken and most of the supplies had been flown in by El Al at no charge.

Half an hour before the appointed time we were still trying frantically to find room for tourists who had rung the embassy at the last minute and asked to participate. Turning them away was unthinkable but we were getting short of chairs!

Suddenly the buses were here. Provided and paid for by the embassy they had picked up our guests at the Great Synagogue of Cairo.

Most of the people were old. They came in diffidently, sat down quietly. Many were unfamiliar with the service and told us this was their first Seder in many years. They sang with us with rusty voices, humming when they had forgotten the words. One after the other the men were called to read; this they did haltingly in a variety of accents.

The occasion was not so much festive as moving. Centuries had gone by since the Exodus, but for these people the Haggadah was still no more than a tale of hope with little relevance for themselves.

Though they were clearly happy to see so many Israelis, and especially the children, they could not even communicate with most of them since they spoke French or Arabic only.

And at the end of the meal the age old sentence which opens the Seder, "Let all who are hungry come and eat" took a poignant significance when some of the older people carefully wrapped left-overs in paper napkins and took them away.

I do have one special memory of Passover in Egypt. The day of our last Seder, March 28, 1983.

We had gone to Jerusalem for a very short vacation and were coming back to Egypt for the embassy Seder. They had joked about it at our side of the border, asking us whether we were sure we were going the right way.

Since we had left Jerusalem later than usual we were racing across Sinai to get to the hotel on time. As the shadows lengthened over the changing patterns of the desert, a moonbeam came down and full, the moon of Passover as bright as it has ever been. It was a miracle, a sign, a promise when the children of Israel partook for the first time of the unleavened bread.

Women cross boundaries

Amy Levinson

America (Linda and I) and Israel (Arona) for the first time in what I guess you would call a "feminist" exhibit, without the negative connotations of that word," explained Klein, an artist from Miami, Florida, whose bright pastel and pencil drawings depict the heroines of the Bible.

"In our paintings and drawings, the three of us have destroyed certain stereotypes of women, honestly portraying them as being emotional and outspoken, heretical or religious. We have crossed the boundaries of what women are 'allowed' to think and say, as well as the boundaries of time and place."

While Klein's works look like illustrations out of an ancient manuscript, with their formal geometrical borders surrounding the portraits of biblical women, a closer look reveals contemporary themes and sexual symbols that link the ancient women to their latter-day sisters.

Said Klein, who considers herself to be religious "but not Orthodox," "Through symbols and metaphors, I wanted to show that we are not so different from the women of the Bible. We share their same passions and feelings, desires and disappointments. We have a lot to learn from them."

Reiner has also painted a series of portraits of women. Her subjects are three generations of Israeli friends and relatives, sitting in their homes with objects in the background that symbolize their lives and personalities. In her flat portraits and strong-hued style reminiscent of Matisse, Reiner — like Klein — "is documenting the lives of women."

"Throughout history, men's lives have always been documented," said Klein. "Here we are illustrating and documenting the lives of women, with all their passions and complexities."

Women, she went on, are "containers" of knowledge and of family heritage — a theme manifested in

the abstract oils exhibited by New Yorker Linda Brooks. Each of her paintings has literally been unfurled from within a wooden container resembling a Torah scroll; each contains allusions to the Bible, references to Jewish mystical themes or Gematria.

Like Klein and Reiner, Brooks worked hard in the last 18 months to complete her paintings for the exhibition; unlike them, she could not be present at it.

"It all happened so fast," Klein recalled. "Arona was exhibiting in Miami a year-and-a-half ago, and a mutual friend arranged for us to meet. Linda was with us as well and we all got talking... We immediately decided to do a show and Arona, a member of the artists' union here, arranged for the exhibition at the Artists' House."

From Jerusalem, the show will be travelling to Miami, said Klein, "and, hopefully, to other places around the U.S."

"We want it to be an international show that will cross many boundaries, as each of us in our separate lives and in our work has done."

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paintings — entitled "Images Without Boundaries" — was an international all-female first at the Artists' House gallery.

"We brought together the works of three Jewish women from

America (Linda and I) and Israel (Arona) for the first time in what I guess you would call a "feminist" exhibit, without the negative connotations of that word," explained Klein, an artist from Miami, Florida, whose bright pastel and pencil drawings depict the heroines of the Bible.

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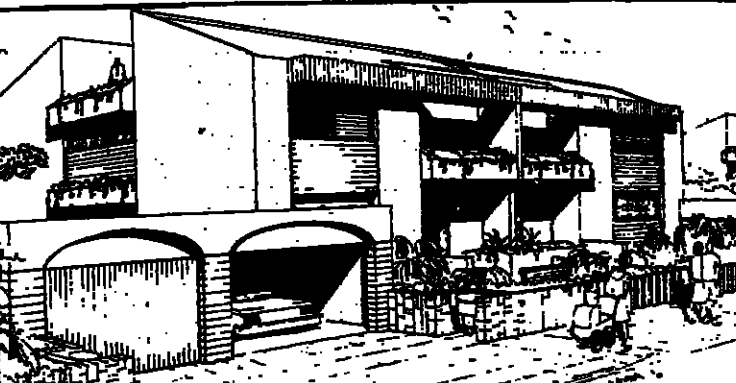
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WEEKLY REVIEW

Mine
FieldsPresident's
'Secret War'
In Nicaragua
Backfires

By PHILIP TAUBMAN

SOME senior officials had warned from the first that aiding the Nicaraguan rebels might backfire. Their fears, stated when the Administration was about to inaugurate the policy three years ago, seemed to be fulfilled last week as the United States role in the mining of Nicaraguan harbors came under attack from American allies and both parties in Congress. The ensuing controversy cast doubt on the President's ability to pursue his policies across the board in Central America, setting the scene for a major foreign policy debate in the Presidential campaign.

As unease deepened, the Administration denied reports that United States military pilots had flown into combat in El Salvador and that the Pentagon had contingency plans for American combat forces in the region. Unable to persuade Congress to speed additional aid to El Salvador, President Reagan went ahead and used his emergency "draw-down" authority to assign \$32 million for helicopters, ammunition, medical equipment and spare parts. The White House hoped Congress would authorize the money within 120 days. But the mood in Congress as it broke for Easter recess last week was not conciliatory and the financial end-run did not help. "I think it's wrong, wrong, wrong," said Representative Clarence D. Long, the Maryland Democrat.

In a scorching letter to William J. Casey, the Director of Central Intelligence, Senator Barry M. Goldwater of Arizona, chairman of the Senate Intelligence Committee and a Republican who usually supports the President, called the mining a violation of international law. "It is an act of war," he wrote. "For the life of me I don't see how we're going to explain it." On the Democratic side, the House Speaker, Thomas P. O'Neill Jr., said, "I have contended that the Reagan Administration's secret war against Nicaragua was morally indefensible. Today it is clear that it is legally indefensible as well." Britain's Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher opposed the mining, "because it is very dangerous to international traffic on the high seas." France also condemned it.

The immediate cause of the uproar was reports of direct United States involvement in the mining and the related move by the Administration to withdraw from the jurisdiction of the World Court only days before Nicaragua took its case there. An immediate casualty was a bill to provide \$21 million in new money for the Nicaraguan rebels; it seemed headed for defeat in the House.

Beyond that, the powerful shift in Congressional sentiment eroded support for the Administration's entire strategy in Central America. Referring to President Reagan's appeal for bipartisan backing, a State Department official said: "We got a bipartisan vote from the Senate, but it was bipartisan the wrong way." In the Senate, 41 Republicans, including the majority leader, Howard H. Baker Jr., joined in an overwhelming vote against the Administration after similar approval in the House.

Democratic Presidential candidates pounced on the issue. "If this pattern of irresponsibility and deception

continues, I predict America could be involved in a full-scale war in Central America," said Walter F. Mondale. Senator Gary Hart deplored "a return to the cowboy days of the C.F.A." The Rev. Jesse Jackson said Congress should consider whether the President was responsible for "an impeachable offense." Mr. Reagan, avoiding personal identification with the volatile issue, has said little. Yesterday, however, the President made a strong attack on Nicaragua in his weekly radio broadcast. "If it weren't for Nicaragua, El Salvador's problems would be manageable," he said. But his aides were worried that the mining issue could help the Democrats.

Deputy Secretary of State Kenneth W. Dam justified the mining as an act of "collective self-defense" in response to Nicaraguan support for anti-Government guerrillas in El Salvador. "Unilateral compliance with the (United Nations) charter principles of nonintervention and nonuse of force may make sense in some specific, isolated cases," added Jeane J. Kirkpatrick, the chief delegate to the United Nations, "but are hardly a sound basis for either U.S. policy or for international peace and stability." The political storm gathered almost overnight. C.I.A.-supported Nicaraguan rebels had an-

nounced plans for mining in January. House Intelligence Committee members said they had monitored it ever since. This month, after a debate in which the mining was barely mentioned, the Senate voted, 76 to 19, to add \$21 million for C.I.A. aid to the insurgents. The approval, supported by 26 Democrats, seemed a solid victory for the Administration policy of harassing Nicaragua.

Calling the Shots

The twin pillars of Mr. Reagan's Central America policy have been military support for the Government against leftist guerrillas in El Salvador and aid to rightist insurgents intended to keep the Nicaraguan Government off balance. Intelligence officials said the mining of harbors was designed to put new pressure on Nicaragua to stop sending supplies to the Salvadoran guerrillas.

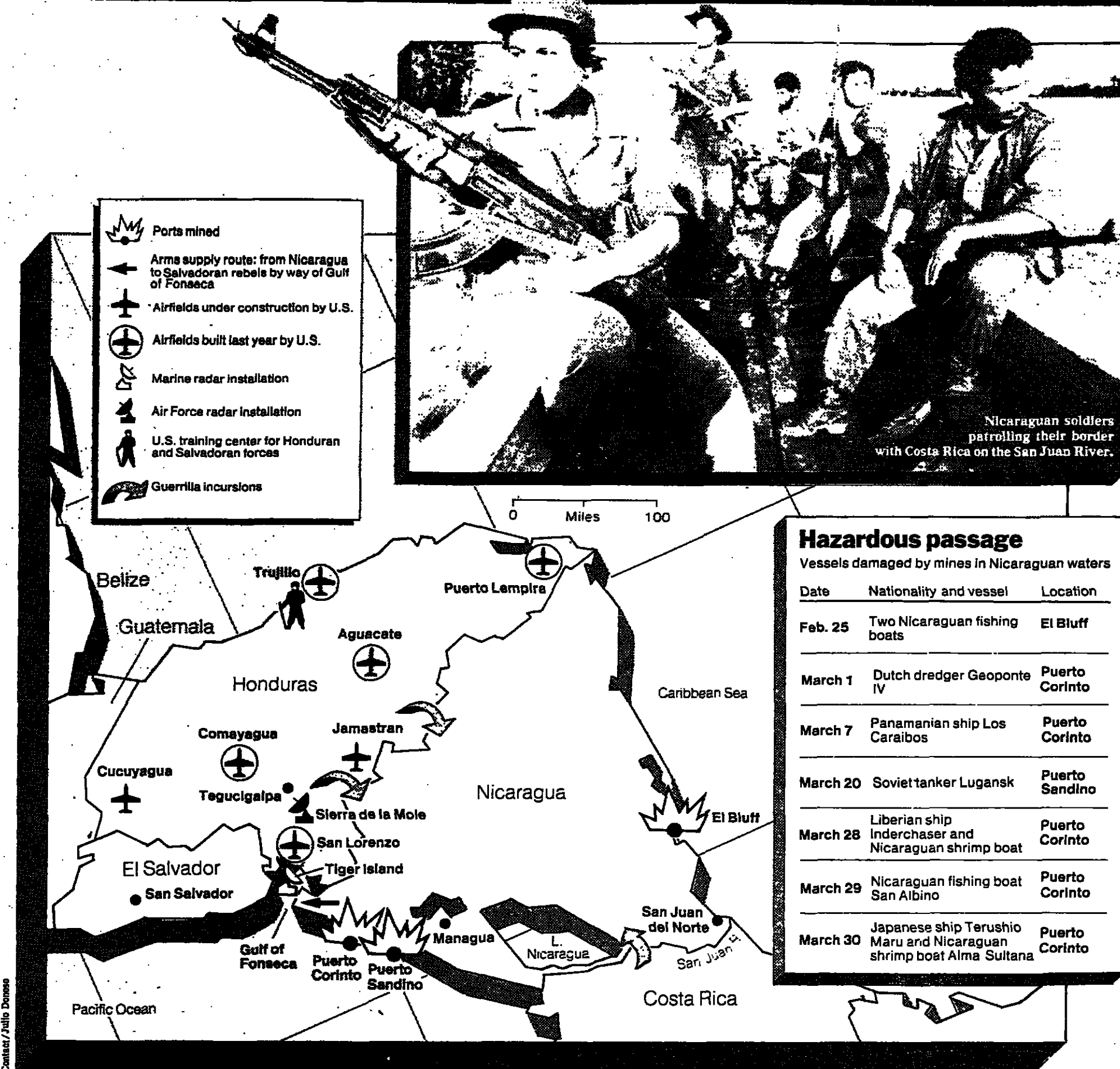
The shift in Congress began last weekend as details about the mining and C.I.A. involvement were disclosed by members of Congress and Administration officials opposed to the operation. These officials said that the mining of three harbors — Puerto Corinto and Puerto Sandino on the Pacific coast and El Bluff on the Atlantic — was carried out by Latin American commandos under

C.I.A. supervision, with the North Americans calling the shots from a ship in the Pacific, at least for Puerto Corinto and Puerto Sandino. Vessels from six nations, including a Soviet tanker, have been damaged.

Criticism swelled when the United States announced that it would not accept World Court jurisdiction in cases involving Central America for the next two years. This, the Administration argued, was necessary to prevent Nicaragua from using the court in The Hague as a propaganda forum. On Monday, Nicaragua formally asked the court to declare illegal United States support for the guerrillas' military and naval operations.

The White House complained that, "In recent days, a shrill and often confusing debate has developed over our goals, plans and activities in Central America." It added: "The real issues are whether we, in the United States, want to stand by and let a Communist Government in Nicaragua export violence and terrorism in this hemisphere, and whether we will allow the power of the ballot box to be overcome by the power of the gun."

Closer to home, Administration officials were hoping that Congressional anger would cool by the end of the Easter recess.



Hart Heads West in Need of Another New Hampshire

A Majority Is Within Mondale's Reach



Walter F. Mondale and his wife, Joan, celebrating victory in Philadelphia last week.

By HOWELL RAINES

AFTER the Pennsylvania primary, the Democratic Presidential candidates headed west. The victorious Walter F. Mondale wound up in California, pressing a quest for the votes and money he needs to attain a goal that now seems within his reach — winning a majority of convention delegates before the end of the primary season. Gary Hart retreated to Colorado to shop for a new pair of cowboy boots, the sartorial symbol of the region he says is going to save his candidacy. And the Rev. Jesse Jackson went to Arizona to add more colors to his near monochrome "rainbow coalition" by courting Hispanic people and American Indians.

The contrasting activities of Mr. Mondale and Mr. Hart in particular underscored their differing fortunes. Mr. Mondale, energized by the 47 percent victory in Pennsylvania last week that made him the champion of the industrial state primaries, needs only to increase his

case are not legally bound to a candidate, will turn to Mr. Hart. To make this strategy work, Mr. Hart must inspire a major outbreak of the kind of rejection voting that sometimes sets in when a front-runner seems to be closing in on the nomination. Jerry Brown rode such a wave against Jimmy Carter in 1976.

In Mr. Hart's case, this always risky approach has special problems. One is arithmetic. Many of the Western and Southwestern states he is counting on hold few delegates. Another is that organized labor is proving to be an even more formidable asset than expected for Mr. Mondale. Unions have supplied votes and campaign workers; now that he is feeling a financial squeeze, ostensibly independent "delegate committees," financed in part by union political action committees, are helping pay for field staff and get-out-the-vote activities. Mr. Hart plans to push his questions on the legality and propriety of the committees as the campaign moves into the South and West, where there is not strong union sentiment. But Hart aides are meeting in Washington this week to try to come up with what he really needs — a new idea of how to

recapture the "prairie fire" momentum that was quenched by the loss of 11 of the last 14 contests.

Mr. Hart is not Mr. Mondale's only problem. The question of "what Jesse Jackson really wants" is heard ever more frequently. Already Mr. Jackson, who showed his continuing popularity with black voters by carrying Philadelphia, has defined two litmus tests for his support. Both spell trouble for Mr. Mondale, if he is the nominee.

The Jackson Factor

Mr. Jackson wants the abolition of the run-off primaries, used in 10 Southern states, because he considers them on their face discriminatory. Trying to please both Mr. Jackson and the influential Southern state party chairmen he himself has courted, Mr. Mondale has suggested that some run-offs discriminate and some do not, and that he is against the bad ones. Mr. Jackson has dismissed this position as "equivocating." He has also said he wants a "peace plank" in the Democratic platform, and his advisers add that it would call for a 20 percent cut in defense spending with the savings earmarked for specific social programs. As they contemplate these demands, party leaders are coming to understand the dilemma. If Mr. Jackson's demands are ignored and if, in response, he gets blacks to sit out the election, their nominee will almost certainly lose. But any nominee who went far enough to the left to pass the tests would probably be taken apart by a master of ideological politics like President Reagan.

What's a party to do? For Mr. Mondale, the answer seems to be to keep open private lines of communication to Mr. Jackson, who last week said he would not take a Cabinet post, and to hope that the wishful-thinking view of some party elders — that Mr. Jackson will fall into line like a good soldier — turns out to be true. "I don't think that anyone will cut a deal with

him," one such elder, former party chairman Robert Strauss said recently, expressing a view that embodies the hopes if not the expectations of people who have negotiated with Mr. Jackson in the past. "First of all, they don't have anything they want to give him. Jesse Jackson wants to be a major player on the American political scene, and I think he will be, but to become that he must be a positive force."

The Republicans have been watching all this for weaknesses to exploit in the general election campaign. Last week, an opening thrust by Vice President Bush showed where, in their estimate, points of vulnerability lay. Mr. Bush criticized Mr. Jackson's reluctance to distance himself from Louis Farrakhan, the Nation of Islam leader, after he threatened the black newspaper reporter who had reported Mr. Jackson's reference to Jews as "Hymies." Then, he chastised Mr. Hart and Mr. Mondale for being slow to speak out against anti-Semitism.

On its surface, this seemed an effort to appeal to Jewish voters, many of whom abandoned their normally Democratic voting habits to support the Reagan-Bush ticket in 1980.

But the salvo also revealed the Republicans' hopes of turning the Jackson factor to their advantage. In the view of Reagan re-election tacticians, any additional publicity he gets will only add spice to a Democratic convention that the Republicans are already counting on to be an embarrassing nationally televised circus. Last week's platform meeting in New York, with its sharp foreign-policy divisions, offered further evidence of Democratic discord. Republicans would be pleased to see Mr. Jackson openly challenge his party's nominee and its platform in San Francisco. "Jackson has pretty well maximized the good he can do for them," a Republican strategist said, arguing that Mr. Jackson has had all the impact he is going to on voter registration. "He's either not going to help any more or he's going to hurt them."

Palestinian
Terrorists'
New Tactics

3

The World



Konstantin U. Chernenko at session of the Supreme Soviet last week.

Chernenko Has It All; Gorbachev Is Close Behind

Uncertain of gait and speech, Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko never did look like a politician on a fast run to the top. But last week, two months after he became General Secretary of the Communist Party, the 72-year-old Soviet leader was elected President of the Soviet Union as well. It took Yuri V. Andropov seven months and Leonid I. Brezhnev almost 13 years to get there. Mr. Chernenko also reportedly heads the Defense Council, which has supreme authority over military policy.

Mr. Chernenko's ascension was confirmed by the Supreme Soviet, the nominal legislature, amid "stormy, prolonged applause," according to the Soviet press. But there was almost as much interest in the man who was given the honor of nominating him, Mikhail S. Gorbachev. At 53, he is the youngest member of the Politburo and appears to be next in line for the succession. In his speech, Mr. Gorbachev seemed to place less emphasis on Mr. Chernenko's qualities than on the importance of combining the jobs of General Secretary and President "for pursuing foreign policy."

Before his election, Mr. Chernenko had some gloomy things to say about the foreign outlook. Despite "peace-loving rhetoric" from Washington, he could discern no signs of readiness to improve relations, he told a Pravda interviewer. In particular, he said the United States was to blame for the continued freeze in arms-control negotiations. The Soviet Union walked out of the Geneva negotiations in November after deployment of American medium-range missiles began in Western Europe. There have been other strains since. Moscow, for example, hinted last week at a possible boycott of the Olympic Games in Los Angeles this summer by charging that the United States was not providing for proper security.

In Washington, Defense Secretary Caspar W. Weinberger was no more optimistic. In his annual assessment of Soviet military power, Mr. Weinberger said Moscow had an edge in strategic and intermediate-range missiles as well as in many kinds of conventional weapons. The Secretary, who, against much Congressional resistance, is seeking spending authority of more than \$1,000 billion over the next three years, was asked the reason for the Soviet buildup. "World domination," he said. "It's as simple as that."

Soviet School Reform

In addition to endorsing changes at the top, the Supreme Soviet last week endorsed changes at the bottom, so to speak. It approved an overhaul of the educational system to produce more blue-collar workers and presumably help overcome a shortage of skilled labor. Soviet youth has been showing a marked aversion to the proletarian condition with only 40 percent of students finishing their schooling in vocational and technical institutions. The number getting technical training will be increased to 60 percent.

Mr. Chernenko, who helped draw up the education reform, indicated in a speech to the Supreme Soviet that he counted on some economic benefits. Each job created for schoolchildren, he said, "should generate for society a practical result — let it be small, but it must be real."

Asian Neighbors At It Again

In what has become virtually a spring ritual along their 400-mile frontier, China and Vietnam last week exchanged artillery fire and insults. The Communist neighbors have clashed periodically since 1979, when Vietnamese troops occupied Cambodia and Chinese forces invaded Vietnam in a fierce month-long border war. Western diplomats

linked the latest fighting to Vietnamese attacks against bases in Thailand of Pol Pot, the former Cambodian leader.

Radio Hanoi seemed to concede as much, accusing the Chinese of crossing the border in hopes of bolstering "the Pol Pot remnants." In Bangkok, officials accused the Vietnamese of entering Thailand to raid a Pol Pot base and of preparing to attack another Pol Pot bastion deeper inside Thailand. Thai military officers said they captured 47 Vietnamese soldiers last month, but Radio Hanoi denied that its forces had crossed the frontier. The Thai accounts coincided with the visit to Washington last week of Thailand's Prime Minister, Prem Tinsulanond. President Reagan promised him increased defense aid, including 40 M-48 tanks. Officials said Thailand would also be permitted to buy advanced American F-16A tactical fighter planes but would be urged to buy cheaper, more easily maintained planes.

By Hanoi's account, China committed "very serious acts of war" on the Vietnamese side of its border. Peking, however, said Vietnamese soldiers crossed into China to plant mines and that its frontier guards had killed more than 40 of them since April 2.

Brazil Agitates To a Samba Beat

Brazil is preparing for civilian rule, but the military Government, mindful of the generals and admirals who have been put on trial in neighboring Argentina, wants to keep control when its successor is chosen in January. Most Brazilians don't want to wait for electoral power. Last week, in one of the largest political demonstrations in the country's history, more than 500,000 people crowded into downtown Rio de Janeiro. While thousands of samba dancers paraded, opposition leaders demanded direct presidential elections, bypassing the 686-member electoral college, which is controlled by the governing Social Democrats.

Direct elections are the choice of more than 80 percent in the opinion polls. In direct voting, the opposition would stand a strong chance of winning the presidency, especially at a time of triple-digit inflation and widespread unemployment. Critics of the military stress the need for a new government that would have enough support to deal with acute economic and social difficulties.

Debate on opposition proposals to amend the Constitution to permit direct elections is scheduled for April 25. But the Social Democrats seemed well-placed to block the two-thirds majority required to amend, although its members may prefer to stay away rather than be seen voting against so popular a measure.

The military and its supporters have tried to cool the issue, talking of a compromise that would clip two or three years off the six-year presidential term. They dangled the promise of direct elections in 1988 or 1989, when memories of abuses of power by the military presumably would be less potent.

Standoff at The World Bank

The world's poorest nations were innocent though frustrated bystanders as a dispute between the United States and Japan last week deadlocked efforts to increase the World Bank's ability to make loans on easy terms.

The dispute took place in Washington, where the bank's development committee was making final a proposal to increase by \$9 billion the funds available to International Development Association. This agency of the bank makes interest-free, 50-year loans to 40 of the neediest countries. The increase was made possible to a large extent by a pledge from Japan to pay 18.7 percent of the total. In return Japan would rise in shareholder strength in the bank from fifth place to second, right behind the United States.

But the United States blocked the arrangement, demanding that Japan first agree to open its capital markets to outside investors. The American calculation is that this would drive up the yen, make Japanese imports more expensive and cut the trade deficit. The Japanese have resisted foreign incursions into any of their markets. Tomomitsu Oba, the Japanese Vice Finance Minister for International Affairs, warned that if Japan was prevented from becoming the bank's No. 2 voting member, it would change its contribution to the development fund to 6.5 percent, a reduction of more than \$1 billion over the next three years starting in July. Japan was not alone in its unhappiness over injection of a strictly bilateral issue into the deliberations. Most of the other delegates of the 144 nations present were reported fearful that a laboriously reached agreement might yet unravel at what Canadian Finance Minister Marc Lalonde called "this critical time."

Milt Freudenheim and Henry Glinzer

Shultz Made a Case For Two Nonproliferation Treaties Last Week

Hemispheric Pressure on Argentina to Ban the Bomb

By EDWARD SCHUMACHER

BUENOS AIRES — Argentina's refusal to ratify treaties prohibiting the spread of nuclear weapons is Topic One on Washington's list of issues dividing the two countries, American officials say. Last week, nuclear weapons policy was on the agenda again when the Argentine Foreign Minister, Dante Caputo, met in Washington with Secretary of State George P. Shultz.

Argentina has the most advanced nuclear program in Latin America and, according to American intelligence, the capacity to build nuclear weapons in three years or less. Last November, Buenos Aires announced that it had developed the capacity to enrich uranium, which meant it had completed the nuclear fuel cycle on its own, outside the sway of international safeguards.

When the democratically elected Government of President Raúl Alfonsín took office four months ago, after nearly eight years of military rule, the Reagan Administration hoped that Argentina would ratify the 1968 worldwide Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty or the 1967 hemispheric treaty of Tlatelolco.

"Sure we know he is a good guy," a senior Administration official said of Mr. Alfonsín. "But how do we know we can trust his countrymen?"

North Americans and Brazilian and Chilean neighbors, who have had touchy relations with Argentina over the years, point to the 1982 invasion of the Falkland Islands as an example of Argentina's unpredictability. Mr. Alfonsín has moved to improve relations with his neighbors and to promote negotiations with Britain on the

Falklands. But there is no guarantee that the military or an ultranationalist Government might not someday return to power. Only one elected Government has completed its term, since 1930.

Mr. Caputo has been trying to assuage the Administration's fears. "We're looking for a way to assure the world of the peaceful intent of the Argentine nuclear program," he said in an interview just before leaving for Washington. "But it is a question that we have to deal with sensitively, for the obvious reason that it needs the approval of Congress."

Reservations and Conditions

Senior Argentine officials said privately that the Government would like to ratify Tlatelolco, but with a reservation like the one invoked by Brazil and Chile — that their participation will not take effect until every country in the hemisphere has ratified it. Cuba, however, has made its ratification of the treaty conditional on United States withdrawal from the Guantanamo naval base, which is apt to delay full application of the treaty for a long time, Mr. Caputo said.

Argentine ratification nonetheless would be a big step toward deterring the spread of nuclear weapons, United States officials insist. The Tlatelolco treaty bans nuclear weapons in Latin America, providing inspections to insure compliance. Signatories may build nuclear explosives for peaceful purposes. This makes it more palatable to Argentines than the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty, which bans all nuclear devices in nations that do not have already have them. Argentine representatives advised the Interna-

tional Atomic Energy Agency two weeks ago that they would not ratify the broader treaty, which they see as discriminating against have-nots.

The Government is reluctant to take on the certainty of heavy opposition while it is already fighting to implement its economic austerity program. Opposition Peronists, nationalists and even the association of nuclear technicians have argued that ratification would infringe on national sovereignty. Many Peronists in Congress claim that international banks are demanding ratification in return for refinancing of the country's foreign debt. It is a specious argument, according to bankers and officials, but one that caters to the conspiracy theories believed by many Argentines.

The political sensitivity has been such that Mr. Alfonsín rejected an appeal this month by the visiting Mexican President Miguel de la Madrid Hurtado to commit Argentina to signing the Tlatelolco treaty, as part of a draft cooperation treaty with Mexico. They softened the wording to say only that Argentina would not use its "nuclear technology for warfare ends, in accordance with the spirit" of Tlatelolco.

Mr. Caputo, who heads an interagency committee reviewing nuclear policies, said the group plans to submit a proposed law to Congress that would put the country on record against building a bomb.

Argentina's nuclear program started in the 1950's and has grown to include 1,000 technicians. It has enjoyed extraordinary national support, regardless of the frequent changes of Government. The country has two operating nuclear power plants, and a third is under construction. Argentina trains technicians from other Latin American countries. It is an exporter of medical isotopes. The program's goal is to make Argentina self-sufficient in energy far into the future.

The Alfonsín Government has said it will cut back nuclear spending this year as an austerity measure. But little is heard of the issues debated in the United States and other industrialized countries concerning the economic viability and safety of nuclear energy.



Argentines demonstrating against nuclear development in Buenos Aires.

Mexican's Gains in Latin America May Be Liabilities in Washington

De la Madrid Faces a Tougher Audience

By RICHARD J. MEISLIN

MEXICO CITY — Still basking in a warm reception from his southern neighbors, President Miguel de la Madrid Hurtado of Mexico is now preparing for a chillier reception from President Reagan up north. Their meeting, scheduled for May 15, will test how much weight Washington gives to the pledges of support Mexico's President received during his Latin American trip.

For two weeks, on his first official foreign trip as President, Mr. de la Madrid was the toast of Latin American capitals. His message — that peace in the region should be achieved through negotiation rather than military means — was greeted with applause in legislative halls and at official dinners. His call for greater economic assistance and more lenient treatment from industrialized nations fell on receptive ears.

His assistance in assembling a bailout plan to keep Argentina from defaulting on its foreign debt — and his country's \$100 million loan to the new Government there — brought him a virtual hero's welcome in Buenos Aires. He returned home basking in a new aura of Latin American leadership.

But most of what played well in Latin America is likely to be a source of irritation in Washington. The Reagan Administration, while repeatedly voicing support in public for a negotiated settlement of Central America's conflicts, remains committed to military pressure as the motor for its foreign policy in the region.

Washington's Suspicions

While Mr. de la Madrid can go to Washington knowing he has the support of Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, Panama and Venezuela, there is no sign that Mr. Reagan is willing to change course because of the complaints of a unified Latin America any more than he has in response to suggestions from his Western European allies.

And while the Mexican President can declare that negotiations are the only route to a solution in Central America, the Contadora Group, in which Mexico is an active member, has little to show for 18 months of effort. The group, which also includes Colombia, Venezuela and Panama, has yet to persuade the five Central American countries to agree formally on objectives.

Mr. de la Madrid's moderate, relatively neutral tone and gracious style have helped thaw relations with his southern neighbors; his predecessor, José López Portillo, set nerves on edge in some quarters with his vocal support for leftist revolutionaries in Central America.

But Mr. de la Madrid continues to be regarded with suspicion in Washington. Mexico is still a leading oil supplier for Nicaragua. It maintains cordial diplomatic and trade relations with Cuba and the Soviet Union. Its foreign policy goal is essentially to have friendly relations with the world as it is, a view that United States officials believe, naïve.

What seems like naïveté to Washington is probably viewed as pragmatism by Mr. de la Madrid. Mexico's political strength would not be blighted by rebuffing possible allies nor its economic

hardships alleviated by cutting off potential markets. His recent trip, besides being a diplomatic success, resulted in the completion of a number of bilateral trade agreements.

Members of his administration deny that the President is trying to become the chief spokesman for Latin America, even as they boast that his journey helped create what one called "a high point in the cycle of Latin American relations."

They also note an increased forcefulness in international policy statements from Mexico City since his return. Foreign Minister Bernardo Sepúlveda Amor last week denounced the mining of Nicaragua's harbors as a violation of international law and criticized the United States, without naming it, for Washington's declaration that it would not be bound by World Court decisions on Central America cases for the next two years.

Such statements are good for Mr. de la Madrid's standing on the home front; independence from the United States is a concept Mexicans hold dear.

His trip, the photographs of the graying President shaking hands with other Latin leaders, the warm words of support all brought back memories of a prouder era, when Mexico's international dignity and influence were not weakened by domestic economic chaos — even if officials did have to reassure an anxious public by explaining that the \$100 million Mexico lent to Argentina was guaranteed by grain as collateral. Washington is likely to be less receptive.

U.S. Arm-Twisting

There have been reports that the Reagan Administration is prepared to use economic pressure to make Mexico more amenable to its views. While Mexico is now the United States's No. 1 foreign oil supplier, the United States is also Mexico's leading trading partner.

"They need United States dollars more than the United States needs Mexican oil," a Western



Mexico's President Miguel de la Madrid Hurtado speaking in Argentina, as President Raúl Alfonsín listens.

Woodfin Camp/Barbara Shaw

official said.

Mexico's Foreign Minister, Bernardo Sepúlveda, last week dismissed the reported threat of pressure as probably the notion of a "minor official." But he warned that to try it would be "an enormous error of judgment."

So in spite of the enhanced support from their Latin American neighbors, even Mexican officials seemed to hold little optimism for moving the Reagan policy.

"I think it will be very much like La Paz," a Mexican official said, referring gloomily to the previous meeting between the two Presidents. "Both will say what they have to say and leave the same way they arrived. Except this time, the positions will be further apart than ever."

P.L.O. May Be Through, but Raids in Israel Show That Its Fragments Can Still Strike



Israeli troops and police examine commandeered bus in the Gaza Strip. A dead Palestinian hijacker is slumped in the driver's seat.

Palestinian Terrorism Takes a Deadly Turn

By THOMAS L. FRIEDMAN

BEIRUT, Lebanon — Almost two years after the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, the Palestinian guerrilla movement, with support from Syria, appears to have reorganized for operations inside Israel. The grenade attack by Palestinian gunmen in Jerusalem on April 2 and the bus hijacking near Gaza last week indicated a new phase of an old conflict.

The Israeli invasion of June 1982 dealt a crippling blow to the Palestine Liberation Organization as it was then constituted, and to the leadership of chairman Yasir

Arafat. The P.L.O. today is split between pro- and anti-Arafat factions, its institutions are not functioning in any meaningful fashion and, as an umbrella organization, it no longer has any military weight. As for Mr. Arafat, he retains the title of chairman, but he has been banished by the Syrians and their Palestinian agents to the Tunisian wilderness where he has been unable, thus far, to develop coherent military or diplomatic initiatives.

But the Israelis are discovering that wrecking the P.L.O. and Mr. Arafat's standing does not mean the end of the Palestinian problem. It seems clear that as long as the vast majority of Palestinian people have no homeland there are going to be Palestinian guerrillas. The Is-

raelis may have destroyed the frame that held together a loose coalition of Palestinian organizations of various shapes and sizes, but the small factions the P.L.O. structure united still exist. As scattered fragments these groups may prove far more troublesome for the Israelis.

When the eight-member P.L.O. coalition was united in Lebanon, it was a convenient target for the Israelis. Under Mr. Arafat's leadership the organization tried to shed its guerrilla tactics and become a quasi-conventional army, with uniforms, a baggage band, tanks and artillery. While it sponsored several spectacular terrorist raids into northern Israel, the P.L.O.'s most prominent activities in its last years in Lebanon were shelling Israeli settlements with outdated artillery and Katyusha rockets. As a conventional army the P.L.O. was no match for Israel, which quickly steamrollered it in 1982.

Ever since the first week of the Israeli invasion the Palestinian militants have had to go back to their guerrilla roots and in doing so they have caused the Israelis much more serious trouble in south Lebanon. Hardly a day goes by now without some guerrilla ambush, sniper fire or grenade throwing in south Lebanon. Israeli casualties are mounting steadily.

Since the guerrillas no longer have the conventional means to attack Israel from outside its borders, they are now putting their main effort into infiltrating men and arms into Israel proper — primarily through the open Lebanese frontier. One result was last week's hijacking of a bus with 35 people traveling from Tel Aviv to Ashkelon. Israeli authorities rejected demands for the release of 500 Palestinian prisoners and four gunmen were killed when soldiers stormed the bus. One passenger died and seven were injured. Two hours later, the army blew up the four Palestinians' homes in the Gaza.

The Israelis, having destroyed the P.L.O. superstructure, no longer have any "return address" to which they can send a retaliatory message. The little groups responsible for the latest raids — the Democratic Front and the Popular Front — are made up of only a few men. Moreover, their headquarters are in Damascus and for the Israelis to retaliate against them is to run the risk of a war with Syria. To avoid this, the Israeli Air Force has been hitting what it calls Palestinian guerrilla bases in the Bhamdoun area of central Lebanon but these attacks appear ineffective. And the more the Israelis tighten their grip on south Lebanon to prevent Palestinian infiltration the more they alienate the southern population.

The Syrian Connection

The breakup of the P.L.O. into small pro- and anti-Arafat groups has rekindled competition among them for popularity. When the Democratic Front or the Popular Front launch headline-making raids inside Israel their targets are not only Israeli civilians but Yasir Arafat and Jordan's King Hussein. These Syrian-backed groups want to embarrass both men and demonstrate that their "defeatist" diplomatic approaches are bankrupt. If Mr. Arafat wants to retain his credibility he too may have to prove himself anew through armed struggle.

The Syrians for their part are actively supporting the Palestinian operations inside Israel. Having won the political battle against Israel by getting President Amin Gemayel to abrogate his withdrawal accord with it, the Syrians evidently want to take the matter a step farther to show that not only are agreements with Israel not viable but that armed struggle is the only way to get the Israelis to budge. The Syrians are believed to be providing a safe haven for the Palestinians to operate behind Syrian lines in Lebanon and helping them to tunnel arms into south Lebanon — and probably beyond. Last week, in a highly unusual development, the Israelis announced that Palestinian guerrillas launched a Katyusha attack on northern Israel from the Syrian side of the Golan Heights and on Friday morning the first item on Damascus radio was a cryptic declaration: "Our masses in the occupied Golan Heights have been engaged in operations against the Zionist enemy in preparation for a sweeping uprising."

It is possible that the Syrian leadership may be trying to deflect attention from the power struggle now going on in Damascus by heating up the confrontation with Israel. It is also possible that with President Hafez el-Assad ill, Syrian militants are gaining the upper hand in Damascus. In any event, the Syrians may be playing with fire in provoking the Israelis, but then that kind of brinkmanship has always been the Syrian style.

Socialist Government Trims the Public Sector and Attacks a Labor Sacred Cow

Craxi's Hard Line on Italian Communists

By HENRY KAMM

ROME — Bettino Craxi, Italy's first Socialist Prime Minister, has broken a traditional political understanding with Western Europe's biggest Communist Party, provoking it into becoming a full-fledged opposition.

Mr. Craxi brought about the dispute by stepping up efforts to curb huge public-sector spending deficits and double-digit inflation. Central bankers believe that Mr. Craxi's program is far from adequate but give him credit for more daring than previous Prime Ministers, almost all them Christian Democrats. Indeed, Mr. Craxi has attacked a sacred cow that none of his 43 predecessors had dared even discomfort.

As part of his program to reduce the deficit of about \$60 billion and inflation officially estimated at 13 percent (some experts believe it is higher), Mr. Craxi urged in the tripartite negotiations among Government, employers and labor that cost-of-living increases be capped. Despite a so-called automatic escalator clause, which makes wages reflect faithfully any rise in the cost of living, he wants increases limited to 8 points this year. Predictions are that the cost of living will rise by 12 points. The Christian Democratic union, with three million members, and the Socialist union with 1.5 million, accepted; the Communist union, the largest with 4.5 million members, demurred. Mr. Craxi imposed his will by decree, and a late last month the Communists brought half a million wage-earners into the streets to demonstrate.

The political attention span of the Italian public is renowned for its shortness, and the street protest lasted only a day. But the new tension between the Government

and the Communists continues to preoccupy what is known here as "the political classes," those who make their living from politics and political struggle. The decree has come before Parliament, which is expected to reject it. But Mr. Craxi has vowed to reissue it with slight modification and may then demand a vote of confidence.

From 1945 until 1981, the Christian Democrats governed Italy. As the erosion of power weakened their hold and heightened the differences between the party's many clans, they had an increasing tendency to compromise and to put off problems by handing out money. "Difficult economic decisions are never taken by weak political leadership," a diplomat remarked. Under the "historic compromise," Christian Democratic Prime Ministers kept the Communists, the second-largest party, from exercising real opposition by accommodating their economic demands, particularly implementation of the wage-indexing formula.

Breaking a Taboo

Mr. Craxi has broken the taboo and challenged the Communists, who last year received 30 percent of the votes in the national elections, to become a real opposition party. Clearly Mr. Craxi believes that his five-party coalition, representing 56 percent of the electorate, can hold together and defy the Communists. In doing so, the Socialists presumably hope to prove that their party is the true representative of the working class and to justify their repeated rejections of Communist overtures for a left-wing governing coalition.

No doubt the economic issues are serious, Italian and foreign specialists agree. A large "gray" economy brings no boon to the public purse because of skill in tax

evasion. A huge public payroll and a web of social legislation whose entitlements extend to an ever-increasing part of the population and whose cost is therefore beyond Government control, help keep spending and deficits up. Inflation is also a big problem, but it came down last year and Mr. Craxi's goal of bringing it down further — to 10 percent this year — is considered to represent more than wishful thinking.

Although they say more is needed, bankers and economists recognize the exigencies of politics and say that Mr. Craxi is at least moving in the right direction. They report that international confidence, a key indicator, remains unshaken, and the balance of payments is in good shape. The country's three-year recession turned around in the third quarter of last year and the experts look to a recovery.

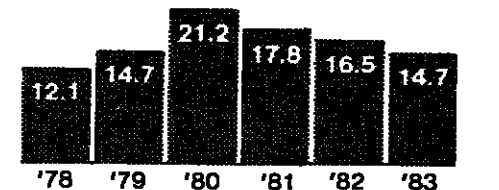
Even a superficial look at Italian life confirms the economists' judgment that the post-war years have been good for Italy. Private cars clog cities and race along a vast network of excellent highways despite gasoline prices higher than in the rest of Western Europe. Housing that seems longer on modernity than on solidity has sprung up everywhere, including the traditionally disfavored south. The profusion of food is surfeiting to behold, and the children of the working class do not lack for the variety of clothes, motorized transport and electronic playthings of their peers elsewhere in the West.

Mr. Craxi appears to feel that bringing Italian policies closer in line with those in force in the rest of Western Europe is good politics. So far, only the Communists have objected. The big question is whether they will be able to carry their protest beyond a one-day demonstration.

Italy's stubborn troubles

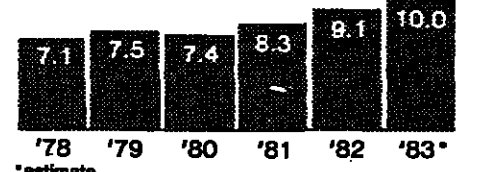
Inflation

(annual increase in consumer prices, in percent)



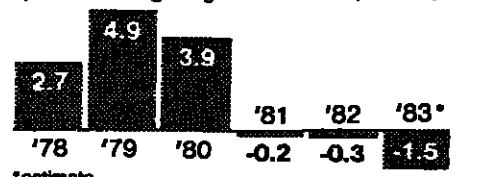
Unemployment rate

(as a percent of total labor force)



Economic growth

(percent change in gross domestic product)



Source: O.E.C.D.; I.M.F.

In an Open Letter, a Prominent Attorney Challenges the Move Against a Dissident Lawyer

Legally Speaking, Polish Government Is Big on Appearances

By JOHN KIFNER

WARSAW — One of Poland's most distinguished lawyers has piqued the authorities by publicly charging them with corrupting the system of justice in framing a fellow lawyer. Their irritation over the charge by Wladyslaw Sila-Nowicki says much about legalism and the role of law in this troubled society.

So obsessed is the Communist Government with legal appearances that a plan for the military takeover of Poland in September 1981 to end the Solidarity trade union movement had to be delayed three months until a legal rationale could be worked out: someone had noticed that the Constitution had no provision for martial law. This has since been rectified.

Such sensitivity helps explain the impact of the recent open letter by Mr. Sila-Nowicki accusing officials of trying to frame Maciej Bednarkiewicz, a well-known defender of human rights causes. "It is immoral that the authorities place themselves above the law, the same laws they have passed," he declared.

The heated controversy over Government efforts to banish crosses from public schools and hospitals also had its legalistic aspect. Officials insisted on the Constitutional separation of church and state, but were forced two weeks ago to bow to strong Roman Catholic sentiment and allow a limited display of the cross.

The official emphasis on forms of law appears rooted in the deep-seated need to seem respectable, to show that while Poland may have a Communist regime, it is a country that is, after all, European. The Bednarkiewicz affair has sent a chill through the tiny community of law-

yers representing dissidents. To them it dramatically showed the contradiction between the official and the real as well as their own vulnerability.

Mr. Bednarkiewicz was involved in three politically important cases. He represented the mother of 19-year-old Grzegorz Przemyski, who died of severe internal injuries after being taken into custody by the police and whose funeral last May turned into a silent protest march by 20,000 people. He also represented St. Martin's Church, where undercover policemen broke through the back door of a convent to smash an office helping Solidarity prisoners. And he was on the defense team in a long-pending trial of 11 top Solidarity leaders and their intellectual advisers, who are charged with trying to overthrow the system.

In January, the lawyer was arrested and charged with harboring a deserter from the special riot police known, for their Polish initials, as the Zomo, and with offering him money to steal a police radio transmitter. In his letter, Mr. Sila-Nowicki said that Mr. Bednarkiewicz had told him of being visited by a man claiming to be a Zomo deserter. Mr. Bednarkiewicz said he was suspicious of the man and sent him away. In August, while investigating the case of young Przemyski, he was called in by the security police, who played him a tape recording of the supposed Zomo deserter accusing him of the money offer. Mr. Sila-Nowicki wrote. At the time, Mr. Bednarkiewicz laughed. The progress of Mr. Bednarkiewicz's case has been instructive for the legal community. Two policemen were indicted in the death of the youth but later "new evidence" was said to have been discovered and, over the lawyer's objection, all charges were dropped. Last week, the investigation into the church



Wladyslaw Sila-Nowicki

The New York Times/Witold Siedlecki

break-in was quietly closed for "insufficient evidence."

The Solidarity 11, who include the top-ranking leadership just below Lech Walesa and such longtime intellectual dissidents as Adam Michnik and Jacek Kuron, have been in jail for more than two years without a trial. The prospect of a show trial appears increasingly embarrassing for the Government, which has vainly tried to persuade the defendants to go off into exile instead.

The attorneys regularly representing dissidents here are a rather small and dedicated group — perhaps 60 lawyers around the country, one of them estimated — and they face a difficult time when they pin the green ribbon of the defense to their black legal robes. Sometimes, they say, while they are delivering their summations, the judges chat among themselves, their verdict already determined. The official press has begun a campaign against "oppositively attuned" lawyers with "antisocialist and clerical views."

As for Mr. Sila-Nowicki, prosecutors have begun a case against him under a statute providing for six months to eight years in jail for anyone who "publicly insults, rails against or humiliates the Polish nation." Friends say the charges have not upset Mr. Sila-Nowicki much. He was a hero of the underground home army in the Warsaw uprising, spent a decade in jail, was four times sentenced to death after the war as a member of an illegal nationalist organization called Freedom and Independence, and has been suspended from the bar twice. With the Government's concern for procedures, new rules were issued mandating a retirement age for lawyers, whose most notable effect was to put Mr. Sila-Nowicki, who is 70 years old, out of work. Now the newspapers call him "an obstinate old-age pensioner."

The Nation

Giving the Deficits Their Due

President Reagan may have thought he was venturing into friendly territory last week, but the reception accorded him by an Arlington, Tex., parley of construction executives and bankers was hardly heartwarming. "Deficits keep interest rates high," lectured one panelist. "Deficits are inflationary. Deficits threaten to upset the economic recovery."

On Capitol Hill, the mood was much the same. A week after it voted to trim \$182 billion from the budget over the next three years, the House moved toward that goal by approving a three-year, \$49.2 billion tax bill that would plug tax shelter loopholes and tighten income-averaging provisions, increase levies on liquor and diesel fuel and extend them on telephone calls. It followed up with \$5 billion in spending cuts, including a reduction in Civil Service and military retirement payments and veterans benefits — but not the one-year mandatory freeze on Medicare fees paid to physicians which was opposed by the American Medical Association. While the Senate Budget Committee was haggling over a \$143-billion deficit reduction package, the entire chamber spent the week fine-tuning a slightly smaller tax bill that was similar to the House measure in its major provisions but differed in numerous minor ones.

Reconciliation will await the end of the 10-day Easter recess. Taking into account a compromise reducing the deficit by, say, \$150 billion over three years, gaps of \$169 billion, \$150 billion and \$143 billion will remain for 1985, 1986 and 1987, according to revised projections issued last week by the White House. The Congressional Budget Office, which thinks interest rates will be slightly higher, put the deficits at \$181 billion, \$184 billion and \$198 billion, respectively.

Fever Lines

Seasonal adjusting seemed in order for some of last week's batch of economic indicators. A surprisingly sharp 2.2 percent drop in February's retail sales was due, Commerce Secretary Malcolm Baldrige said, to the combination of bad weather and an unsustainably high level of sales in January, while a rise in wholesale prices of 0.5 percent in March, the second biggest jump in 16 months, was mostly the result of an extraordinary 30 percent increase in the price of fish. Again, weather was blamed.

But if February's 1.3 percent rise in business inventories, the biggest in a decade, was a measure of confidence in the recovery, the modest 0.4 percent increase in industrial production seemed to signal a slowdown. On Wall Street, the Dow Jones industrial average soared more than 28 points on Thursday even before word of a \$5 billion drop in the money supply, far larger than expected. The rally petered out Friday, but the market closed the week with an 18-point gain.

Second Thoughts On Disability Aid

It began as what one cost-conscious administrator called a "crackdown on ineligibility." But last week, after considerable political embarrassment for the Reagan Administration, Margaret M. Heckler, the Secretary of Health and Human Services, announced that she was suspending the systematic screening of those who receive Social Security disability benefits. The review, she said, would remain on hold, "until new disability legislation is enacted and can be effectively implemented."

The disability program, which costs more than \$17 billion a year,



Margaret M. Heckler

supports nearly 2.6 million disabled workers and 1.2 million dependents. Altogether, about 190,000 people have been ruled ineligible and lost their benefits since March 1981, according to a Social Security spokesman. Congress ordered the reviews after studies found that as many as one in five people on the disability rolls shouldn't be there. In March, the House approved, 410-1, legislation that would ease the disability reviews by, among other things, requiring examiners in most cases to produce evidence of medical improvement before cutting anyone off. A similar bill is pending in the Senate. "I think it is obvious the Secretary has seen the handwriting on the wall," said Carl Levin, Democrat of Michigan and one of the sponsors of the Senate measure. "Congress is determined to act."

The freeze means that Social Security will delay as many as 210,000 reviews it had expected to conduct during the last six months of fiscal 1984, according to an official.

Florida Gets Tough on Water

With broad national standards for monitoring ground water perhaps years away, Florida has adopted rules — described as the toughest in the country — designed to insure safe drinking water for the 10 million people served by community wells in the state.

The rules, approved last week by Florida's Environmental Regulation Commission, impose standards on eight contaminants and require monitoring of 120 other toxins. They require that all water systems serving more than 25 customers be tested every three years for traces of vinyl chloride and benzene, known carcinogens, as well as ethylene dibromide, known as EDB, and five other volatile organic chemicals suspected of causing cancer in humans.

The screening of water for toxins, said Victoria Tschinkel, secretary for Florida's Department of Environmental Regulation, will be "extremely important" to consumers, many of whom have lost confidence in the purity of their drinking water. "Screening will make local government and the state look more closely at those industries discharging those compounds," she said.

Because no guidelines have been set by the Federal Environmental Protection Agency, the state relied heavily on the findings of experts in the toxicological field. "This is a whole new area we're trying to get a handle on," said Howard Rhodes, director of the Department of Environmental Regulation's division of environmental programs. Most of the data on which Florida's guidelines were based has already been submitted to the E.P.A., he said, and added: "We just couldn't wait another two to five years."

Caroline Rand Herron,
Michael Wright and Richard Levine

Demand for Rocky Mountain Minerals Grows

Finally, a Little Light At the End of the Mineshaft

By IVER PETERSON

DENVER — The recession produced horror stories in industries all over America, but for sheer impact few equaled the decline in Rocky Mountain mining. Soon after the auto assembly lines began to shut down and demand for electric power faltered, all over the West the mining of iron, copper, coal and other minerals that support the industrial machine began to slide into profound recession.

Now, the upturn in the United States economy is at last beginning to result in slight improvement. "Is the mining industry a little better off than a year ago?" asked Robert E.D. Woolsey, professor of mineral economics at the Colorado School of Mines. "It is. Coal is beginning to see some upturn in demand, particularly for coal companies that are now willing to go with long-term contracts for a little less money than they would like. The reopening of the molybdenum mines is telling us that the demand for steel is coming up."

Most experts agree that a full recovery is far down the road. Moreover, there is ample evidence that most states in the region are bouncing back from recession regardless of conditions in the mines, a sign of the extent to which the states have diversified their economies.

The Western states' mines are at the end of an economic chain. Coal mines, for instance, are vulnerable to a shutdown at some factory or mill at the other end of a power line 1,000 miles away.

Similarly, the price of Nevada's gold varies with events abroad. The need for Wyoming's soda ash rises and falls with the market for plate glass, Utah's uranium with the health of distant nuclear power plants. "We're kind of the tail of the kite out here," C.J. Hansen, head of the Arizona Mining Association, commented.

Accordingly, because more and more blast furnaces elsewhere in the country are firing up, Amax Incorporated's Henderson molybdenum

mine in Henderson, Colo., called back 700 men to mine the mineral, which is used in hardening steel. This week, the company's Climax mine in Leadville, west of here, will put another 700 men to work producing the first ore from that mine since September 1982. Terry Fitzsimmons, a spokesman, expressed optimism that the demand would remain. "We wouldn't plan on bringing them back on a temporary basis," he said. "As far as we're concerned, the mine is opened and will stay opened."

Gold mining is showing renewed strength in Nevada and Idaho, in part because of improvements in techniques for separating the mineral from ore. Silver mining is being encouraged in the expectation that the growth in the production of computers, in whose circuits silver is used, will push up prices.

Copper: Still Awaiting Recovery

Amex's Powder River coal mines are anticipating a 3-to-5 percent production increase this year, according to Don Warfield, a spokesman. "It'll be nothing like the 30 percent growth we were seeing in the past," he said. "Up until 1980 we were going like gangbusters."

Not all coal fields are showing even the modest prospects of the Powder River Basin, however. As the low prices being offered for Federal coal leases last fall indicated, demand is still far from what it was a decade ago.

There remains an area of unrelieved gloom in western mining: Copper, a metal that has made

more money and perhaps produced more drama in the region than gold and silver combined, remains at Depression levels.

The open-pit copper mines of Montana, Utah and Arizona (which used to style itself The Copper State), are popularly believed to be the only man-made things visible from the moon, but today no telescope would reveal the bustle that once marked King Copper's strength in those states. Anaconda Minerals Company shut down its huge Butte, Mont., pit last year. Phelps Dodge is keeping its southern Arizona pits ostensibly open in the face of a bitter strike, but is not smelting the metal. Copper prices remain caught between 70 and 80 cents a pound, less than the dollar-a-pound level the companies say they need to go back to work, and far below the \$1.25 level they hit in 1980. "It's hard for us to understand," said Mr. Hansen of the Arizona Mining Association. "Usually when housing and automobiles pick-up so do we. We don't do it instantly, but eventually we should have seen an improvement in our prices."

There are signs, however, that the continued bad news for some miners may not be of great overall importance to the economies of the Rocky Mountain states. Despite the losses in copper, for example, Arizona's unemployment rate fell from 10.9 percent in January 1983 to 6.3 a year later, a 42 percent decline, the sharpest drop in the region. Analysts say the decline was caused mainly by the arrival of new money and talent and the rise of technology- and tourist-based industries.

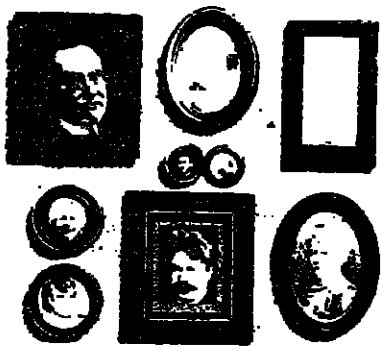
During the same period, Colorado's unemployment rate declined from 8.4 percent to 6 percent and it continues to fall, for many of the same reasons. Denver and other Front Range cities have become the financial, managerial and, increasingly, the technical centers for the Rocky Mountain region. Other states in the region have shown economic resilience. The new money being made in the region, and the tastes of those who are earning it, is even spawning a minor growth industry — old, near-empty mining towns of the past are being spruced up as artists colonies and trendy vacation resorts.



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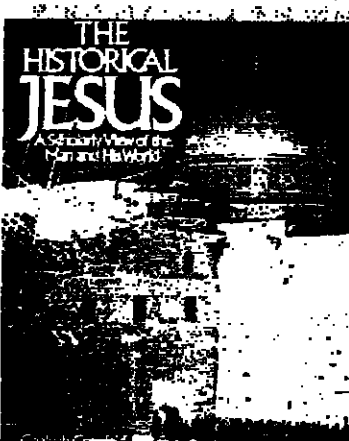
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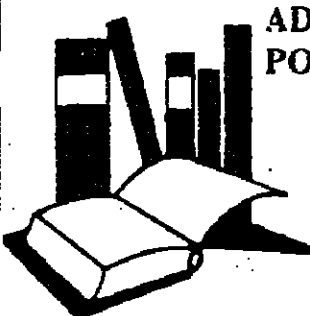
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Academics Turn to Wall Street

They are lured off campus by money — and a chance to test their theories.

By CLAUDIA ROSETT

A little over two months ago, Fischer Black, a tenured professor of finance at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, began a leave of absence and reported for work on Wall Street as a vice president of Goldman, Sachs & Company.

On the same day and just a few blocks away, William L. Silber was settling into a glass-walled manager's booth on the trading floor of Lehman Brothers Kuhn Loeb Inc. On leave from his position as a New York University finance professor, he was beginning his first full-time job with an investment banking firm.

The two professors are leading figures in the high-tech world of modern financial theory. Mr. Black, 46 years old, helped develop the widely used

Black-Scholes formula for pricing stock options; Mr. Silber, 42, is co-author of a best-selling textbook on financial markets. Now they are the latest, and most prominent, of a small but growing band of academics who have left the ivory tower for the "real world" of Wall Street.

The importance of the dozen or so new recruits from academia far outweighs their numbers, since they represent Wall Street's widening acceptance of the applications of modern financial theory. Some analysts speculate that eventually each major investment banking firm will have a niche for a full-time academic adviser on the payroll.

The recruits are answering Wall Street's call for help in dealing with the increasingly complicated financial instruments that have proliferated in the past few years. The belief is growing in the financial district that expert advice on how to trade and value the instruments — some of which were developed by the professors themselves — could have a dramatic impact on profits at investment banking concerns that regularly invest billions of dollars.

For their part, the professors are drawn by compensation packages that are estimated to reach \$200,000 and more — many times the salaries



The New York Times/Carl T. Goetz

William L. Silber

they are normally paid. But the teachers — most of whom are approaching middle age and are restless after long campus careers — are lured as well by a chance to apply their theories in a high-stakes setting.

The movement to Wall Street began

in the late 1970's, picking up speed in the last year or two, and it is still too early to tell how long-lasting it will be. But with talk of the Street's high salaries making the rounds of faculty lounges — and with the departure of such stars as Fischer Black and William Silber — the nation's business school deans are getting edgy and are beginning to think about ways to make academic life more attractive.

There are uncertainties on both sides of the new alliance, however. Investment bankers worry that academics won't be able to take the pressure and hectic pace of Wall Street, and that their attempts to quantify the vagaries of trading often do not take into account the imponderables of an imperfect world. The academics already on Wall Street fret over giving up the freedom to pursue their own interests. Some wonder if they will still be in demand once their new employers have learned what the professors have to teach, and several have taken advantage of the two-year leaves of absence normally provided to tenured faculty to try out their new careers.

Despite the reservations, the professors and investment banking firms have been busily pairing up. Last October, Morgan Stanley & Company hired Alden L. Toebe, 35, an econom-

The Economy

ics professor at the University of Oregon. Shortly afterward, Kidder, Peabody & Company hired Frank Jones, 45, formerly a business professor at San Jose State University. Since leaving academia in 1978, Mr. Jones had also done research for the Chicago Mercantile Exchange, the New York Futures Exchange and the New York Stock Exchange. Besides hiring Mr. Silber, Lehman Brothers brought in Steven W. Kohlhaugen, 36, a professor of international finance at the University of California at Berkeley.

Commercial banks have also gotten into the act. In 1982, Bankers Trust hired Kenneth Garbade, 37, a professor of finance at N.Y.U. Mr. Garbade's academic leave runs out this fall and he is leaning toward staying at the bank. And the Wells Fargo Bank has been drawing on junior faculty, hiring, among others, Jeffrey Skelton, 34, a finance professor from Berkeley.

In recent months, headhunters acting on behalf of a number of major investment banking firms and commercial banks have been prospecting among the faculties at such top business schools as Stanford, Harvard and M.I.T.

nance to students who are now partners at investment banking concerns or are their clients. These former students have helped bring about the current wide acceptance of modern finance techniques on Wall Street.

Now the ex-students are turning to their old professors for further guidance to give them a competitive edge. Some of the professors even helped concoct the instruments they work with. For example, Mr. Jones helped design the Standard & Poor's 500 futures contract for the Chicago Mercantile Exchange.

The professors offer an expertise that younger, and less well-paid, researchers are not often able to provide. Robert E. Rubin, the Goldman, Sachs partner who recruited Mr. Black to the firm and who is now his boss, said the professor "had thought his way through a lot of problems that a younger person wouldn't have."

The Black-Scholes model, for example, is designed to determine the most appropriate price for an option. It employs a mathematical formula based on such factors as the volatility of a stock's price and an option's expiration date.

Steven R. Fenster, 41, managing director of Lehman Brothers, said it is worth looking for academics with the most sophisticated backgrounds because "if they're going to have an impact, they'll be affecting the movement of billions of dollars. It makes a difference if they're right or not."

The professors, especially those who were senior faculty, command impressive salaries and bonuses on the Street, with most estimates placing them in the \$200,000 to \$600,000 range. This compares with the roughly \$50,000 that new business school graduates can expect to be paid.

The high salaries paid former colleagues have generated intense interest among those left behind on the campuses, where senior professors earn about \$55,000 to \$75,000. "It comes up about every other day over lunch," says Max Hartwell, a visiting economic historian at the University of Chicago.

The big salaries are worrisome to some business school administrators, including Abraham J. Siegel, dean of M.I.T.'s Alfred P. Sloan School of Management, who is nervous about further raids on his faculty. "There's no way I can compete with the salary Goldman, Sachs will pay Fischer Black," he said.

Mr. Siegel added that business schools will have to compete in other ways, such as offering professors more time to do outside consulting work and making sure they get "psychic income from working at what they want to do."

Salary is not the only allure of a job on Wall Street, however. Many senior professors have long had lucrative consulting arrangements. Some augment their teaching income in other ways. Mr. Silber, for example, was a floor trader on the New York Futures Exchange while a professor at N.Y.U. Mr. Black published a newsletter on options.

Some of the motivation to leave academia is attributed instead to a growing sense of frustration among finance scholars. After a spate of exciting breakthroughs in the 1950's and 1960's involving portfolio valuation, securities pricing and corporate debt and equity structure, the last heady moment came with the development of the Black-Scholes option model in the early 70's.

"There has been no stimulating big breakthrough in the last couple of years. We're all sort of chewing around the edges," said Terry Marsh, a junior finance professor at M.I.T.

INVESTING / Fred R. Bleakley

The Growing Luster of Drug Stocks

The pharmaceutical issues are looking better and better these days. Why? They're a comfortable defense in uncertain times.

THERE'S a growing drumbeat of support in the investment community for the drug stocks. While legions of other stocks were battered and bruised by this year's market turbulence, the average pharmaceutical issue remains unscathed. And the feeling among some savvy investors and analysts is that, after a year and a half of dismally lagging behind the pack, they're beginning to have their day in the sun.

Andrew Furtak, portfolio manager of the \$1.4 billion IDS Investors Stock mutual fund, is one of those who have taken a shine to the group. Mr. Furtak's fund recently increased its holdings of Upjohn, Merck and G.D. Searle, and drug stocks now make up 10 percent of its assets. With interest rates rising, the stock market slumping and the possibility of a slowdown in the economic recovery, he said, "drug stocks are one of the few areas in which an investor can be comfortable these days."

"Safe haven" is how William Hayes, portfolio manager of Fidelity's Select Health Care Fund, described his move toward a heavier commitment in drug stocks. Increasingly, he said, investors will abandon the so-called cyclical stocks whose earnings gyrate with the economy and will turn instead to industries, such as pharmaceuticals, that have consistently shown strong earnings gains year in and year out and are seen as defensive issues during uncertain times.

Equally important, analysts said, the drug stocks will not be left at the starting gate this time if there is a broad market rally. "When a rally takes place late in a bull market — as is the case now — defensive stocks, such as the drugs, usually do well," said Richard Hoffman of R. J. Hoffman & Company, West Orange, N.J.

Another plus is that the average drug company derives 40 percent of its earnings from international sales. If the dollar continues to weaken, after rising steadily from 1980 through 1983, pharmaceutical company earnings will benefit from the currency translation.

The dollar's strength in recent months was the main reason that Standard & Poor's index of 12 drug stocks rose 2.2 percent from Jan. 1 through last Wednesday, in contrast to a decline of 6 percent in the S. & P. 500 index. But "betting on dollar swings is a dangerous game to play," said Mr. Hayes. Besides, "if interest rates keep rising, obviously the dollar is not likely to weaken."

To be sure, there are other reasons to question the bullish scenario for drugs. Japan, the largest foreign market for American drug companies, for instance, recently mandated a 16 percent cut in drug prices. More important, no one knows how long the foot-dragging will continue at the Food and Drug Administration over approval of new drugs. That has been the case since serious side effects were reported with two drugs last year and Congressional investigations were begun into the drug approval process. Adding to the backlog, the F.D.A. has been without a commissioner since last September.

Nonetheless, the case for buying some drug stocks is compelling, maintained Ronald Nordman, drug analyst for Oppenheimer & Company. On a price/earnings multiple basis, he said, the S. & P. index of drug stocks traditionally sells at a 45 percent premium to that of the broader S. & P. index of large stocks. It is now selling at a 17 percent premium, a 20-year low, he pointed out. Eli Lilly is at an all-time low multiple relative to the market, and Johnson & Johnson, which normally trades 60 to 100 percent higher than the market, is at a mere 30 percent premium now.

Mr. Nordman also noted that while average corporate earnings over all will far surpass those of

the drug companies this year, the reverse will likely be true next year. Without further weakening in the dollar, he expects drug stocks to show 12 to 13 percent earnings gains next year, while Wall Street generally estimates that overall corporate earnings will rise only 10 percent.

Bristol-Myers and Pfizer will turn in even stronger gains, in the 15 to 18 percent range, estimated Mr. Nordman. Bristol-Myers, he added, soon should receive approval for Buspar, a new anti-anxiety tranquilizer that is not habit-forming or interactive with alcohol and does not require as much record-keeping by pharmacists.

Pfizer is on Oppenheimer's recommended list because of the strong performance of three relatively new drugs — Felodine, for arthritis, Procardia, for angina, and Cefobid, an antibiotic — which contributed \$627 million of the company's \$3.75 billion in sales last year. Mr. Nordman estimated the three will account for \$780 million in sales this year. Pfizer is also the most international of all the drug companies, and stands to gain the most from a weakening dollar, he noted. By the end of the year, Mr. Nordman said, his firm expects the dollar to decline an additional 5 to 15 percent against major European currencies.

David Saks of A.G. Becker Paribas agreed that the drug stocks "are too cheap to ignore" and said he particularly likes Bristol-Myers, Merck and Pfizer. At the same time he is recommending Bolar Pharmaceutical, a small generic drug company that he said is "poised for dramatic earnings gains." The number of drugs that are coming off patent and will be available to be sold generically is increasing rapidly, and Bolar, he pointed out, specializes in this area.

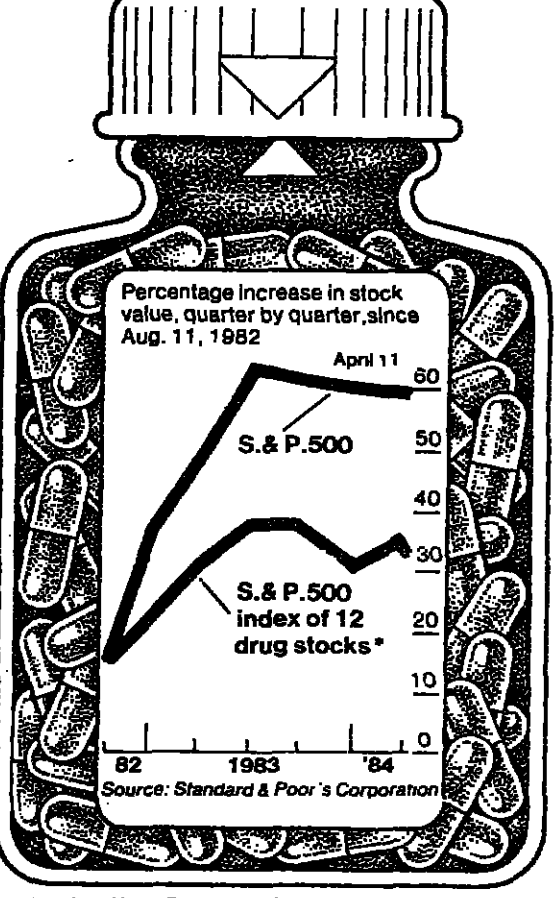
Mr. Saks is also bullish on the group because of demographics. "The aging of the population guarantees growth of any drug aimed at disease," he said. "Older people use 10 times as many prescription drugs as the average person." In addition, Mr. Saks said many of the drug companies are concentrating more of their sales in the most profitable areas of health care and getting out of unrelated businesses. As examples he cited Warner-Lambert's exit from bakery goods, Squibb's departure from chewing gum and American Home Products' divestment of pots and pans.

One drug company that is not about to divest itself of its non-pharmaceutical product is G.D. Searle, maker of Aspartame, the popular, non-saccharine sweetener. Mr. Hayes of Fidelity's Health Care Fund likes Searle for that reason and is also a big holder of Warner Lambert and Bristol-Myers. A smaller company his fund owns is Marion Laboratories, because of the prospects for Cardizem, an angina drug.

Looking at the longer-range picture, Mr. Furtak of IDS pointed out that the American drug companies have stepped up research into new drugs and have formed partnerships with many of the new biotechnology companies. They also have the distribution channels needed for new drugs.

Indeed, one of Mr. Furtak's major investing theses is that over the next decade there will be "a biotechnological, health-care revolution throughout the world." Its magnitude, he said, will parallel that of the electronic, microcomputer revolution of the past decade.

The Steady Strength in Pharmaceuticals



* American Home Products, Bristol-Myers, Eli Lilly, Merck, Pfizer, Schering-Plough, G.D. Searle, SmithKline-Beeckman, Squibb, Sterling Drug, Upjohn and Warner-Lambert.

Fred R. Bleakley writes on finance from New York.

WEEK IN BUSINESS

Tangled Trades at Marsh & McLennan

Marsh & McLennan stunned the trading world by announcing that it would take a \$60-million after-tax charge to first-quarter earnings, largely because of what it called unauthorized trading by one trader that left the insurance brokerage firm with a \$2 billion position in government bonds. Analysts said the firm's problem was a result of shortcomings in a system that relies too heavily on the judgments of individual traders. Most agreed that the incident would cause no permanent harm to Marsh, but trading procedures were likely to be tightened.

Lehman Brothers Kuhn Loeb agreed to be acquired by Shearson/American Express for \$360 million. Lehman, one of the largest private investment bankers, has been troubled in recent months by internal dissension, which many blamed on the chairman, Lewis L. Glucksman. The sale is part of Shearson/American Express's plan to strengthen its financial service offerings.

On the other side of the Atlantic, Charterhouse J. Rothschild, a finan-

cial services company, agreed to buy 28.2 percent of Hambro Life Assurance. The merger is another of the fundamental changes taking place in London's financial community, which is consolidating in the face of new competition from the United States and Japan.

The House and Senate acted to cut the projected Federal deficit by passing separate bills to raise taxes on such items as liquor and cigarettes, and to tighten tax loopholes. But differences between the bills still must be worked out: The House bill calls for \$49.2 billion in additional taxes through 1987; the Senate version for \$47 billion. Although the bills do not please everyone, election-year pressure to bring down the deficit enhances the chances for agreement soon.

Moderation in All Things. Producer prices spurted up 0.5 percent in March, led by a 0.8 percent jump in food prices. The increase put the annual rate at 5.9 percent. The economy, after expanding rapidly for

some time, has moved to a more moderate pace, analysts said. Other figures also indicated slower growth: Retail sales fell 2.2 percent in March, the biggest drop in more than 10 years. Business inventories rose 1.8 percent in February, the most since late 1974, but sales fell 0.4 percent, the first drop in a year, and the inventory-to-sales ratio rose to 1.32 months. Industrial production rose 0.4 percent in March, less than half the previous month's rise.

Apple Goes Portable. The computer maker, preparing to go head-to-head with International Business Machines' PCjr, is readying its first "lap" computer for introduction this month. Apple, heady with the success of its Macintosh, is counting on consumer dissatisfaction with the PCjr to capture a healthy market share.

Good Earnings News. I.B.M.'s net income rose 23 percent in the quarter, more than had been expected. G.E.'s net rose 14.1 percent. Lockheed gained 31 percent. Caterpillar cut its loss to \$109 million and said it expects a profit for the year.

First Chicago's net gained 14.5 percent.

But not everyone was happy. Dome Petroleum reported a \$1.1 billion (Canadian) loss for 1983, the biggest in Canadian corporate history. Crocker National increased its loan-loss provisions and reported a loss of \$120 million. Teledyne's net dropped significantly because of losses in its casualty insurance business and accounting procedures. Interfirst's net plunged 74.3%.

The stock market responded to the profits reports by rallying toward the end of the week, although profit taking cut some of the gain. The Dow closed Friday at 1,156.13, up 17.91 for the week. Credit markets were generally unchanged despite a \$5 billion drop in the basic money supply, more than had been expected.

Royal Dutch/Shell bowed to pressure from the S.E.C. and withdrew its offer of additional cash payments to Shell Oil employees who tendered their stock.

The New York Stock Exchange				
MOST ACTIVE STOCKS WEEK ENDED APRIL 13, 1984				
Company	Sales	Last	Net Chng	
AT&T	6,556,100	15 1/2	+	1/4
IBM	5,555,500	111 1/4	+	1 1/2
A Exp	4,887,500	28 1/2	-	2 1/2
Exxon	4,776,300	40 1/4	+	1 1/2
Chrysler	4,343,400	24 1/4	+	2 1/2
Ford M	3,951,800	34 1/4	+	1
Catrp T	3,883,400	48	-	5 1/2
Sears	3,552,200	30 1/2	-	1 1/2
Occi Pet	3,514,300	30 1/2	-	1 1/2
Cart Hw	3,436,700	27 1/2	-	1 1/2
G Mot	3,386,200	64 1/2	+	1 1/2
Disney	3,370,100	64	-	3
K mart	3,237,500	28	-	1/2
N Semi	3,227,600	14	+	1/2
Mer Ly	3,156,800	24 1/4	+	1 1/2
Standard & Poor's				
400 Indust	180.1	174.4	178.2	+2.27
20 Transp	137.6	131.4	135.8	+3.34
40 Util	64.3	62.4	64.0	+0.13
40 Financial	17.1	16.8	17.0	+0.08
500 Stocks	158.8	154.1	157.3	+1.83
Dow Jones				
30 Indust	1169.2	1121.0	1150.1	+17.91
20 Transp	505.6	481.3	497.3	+13.17
15 Util	127.0	123.7	125.3	-0.09
65 Comb	456.6	438.1	449.4	+7.24
The American Stock Exchange				
MOST ACTIVE STOCKS WEEK ENDED APRIL 13, 1984				
Company	Sales	Last	Net Chng	
WangB	1,636,600	25 1/2	-	1/2
AegisCo	1,207,100	4 1/2	-	1/2
PetLaw	1,148,900	4 1/2	-	1/2
Felmt	1,088,100	33 1/2	+	7 1/2
DomeP	1,055,100	3-1/16	+	1/2
Vrbm	954,000	9 1/2	-	1/2
Amdhl	903,500	13 1/2	+	1/2
TIE	792,400	19 1/2	-	1 1/2
ConsOG	730,700	10 1/2	+	1 1/2
Delmed	707,300	10 1/2	-	1/2
MARKET DIARY				
Advances	Declines	Total Issues	New Highs	New Lows
1,143	854	2,232	58	306
546	1,494	2,249	80	309
VOLUME (A.P.M. New York Close)				
Total Sales	Last Week	Year To Date		
426,899,320	6,885,744,788			
Same Per. 1983	441,627,090	8,173,957,029		
WEEK'S MARKET AVERAGES				
High	Low	Last Change		
107.2	104.2	106.3	+1.36	
84.9	81.7	84.0	+2.19	
44.0	43.4	43.8	+0.18	
88.7	86.8	88.2	-0.30	
91.2	88.8	90.5	+1.03	
New York Stock Exchange				
Indust	107.2	104.2	106.3	+1.36
Transp	84.9	81.7	84.0	+2.19
Util	44.0	43.4	43.8	+0.18
Finance	88.7	86.8	88.2	-0.30
Composite	91.2	88.8	90.5	+1.03
VOLUME (A.P.M. New York Close)				
Total Sales	Last Week	Year To Date		
31,682,740	457,297,275			
Same Per. 1983	38,037,820	538,423,710		

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If Not Mines, What?

Credit William Casey and his C.I.A. wizards with a grand slam in slipping those mines into Nicaragua's harbors. In a stroke, they managed to enrage and confuse Republicans and Democrats at home, allies and adversaries abroad. And they let Nicaragua's Sandinistas robe themselves in the vestments of international law. Congress's lopsided protest should teach a lesson in law and history to an Administration disdainful of both. But the vote only closes a lesser argument over means without advancing the necessary debate about the ends of Central American policy.

The muddle is epitomized by the silly weapons the C.I.A. is said to have used: "firecracker mines" meant to scare away neutral ships without actually sinking them — mines potent enough to stain America's reputation yet too feeble to cripple an adversary. So it has been with the whole "contra" war, which cannot defeat the Sandinistas but offers them no clear bargain of relief.

Some days, President Reagan insists that he means to hold the Sandinistas to their promise of genuine democracy in Nicaragua. Some days he says they can never be trusted to keep any agreement. On still other days, he says the only purpose of military action against them is to make them end support for the guerrillas in El Salvador.

It is time finally to choose an objective and to tailor means to ends.

From their first days in power in 1979, the Sandinistas betrayed their democratic supporters. They allied themselves with Cuba, looked eastward for trade and weapons, undertook a provocative military buildup, called for wars of liberation in their region, welcomed Soviet bloc advisers, voted with Moscow in the U.N. and furnished arms and advice to Marxist insurgents in El Salvador.

If there was any hope of preventing Nicaragua's becoming just like Cuba, it lay in hints that the Sandinistas did not want to be wholly dependent on Moscow, and the signs that Moscow didn't want another highly expensive American dependency. But the Sandinistas feel popular enough to arm much of their population. If their association with

the Soviet bloc is intolerable, only direct United States intervention could throw them out.

But not even the fiercest hawk contends that an intervention in Nicaragua would be as swift or successful as it was in Grenada. And Cuba's easy survival of an invasion by surrogates only enhanced its stature and influence.

Lacking support at home or abroad for any massive war, President Reagan wisely decided against it. Yet as if ashamed of that reality, he has refused to define his terms for an accommodation or even to admit that one is possible. Thus the "contra" war cynically exploits Nicaraguans who pine to retake Managua but amounts to only aimless spasms of violence.

If not that, precisely what? The inescapable answer lies before us. How much the Sandinistas betray their revolution and wreck their economy is, finally, Nicaragua's affair. These are decisions the hemisphere can try to influence, with appropriate trade and aid inducements and punishments. But that is all.

How the Sandinistas behave toward their neighbors, however, is very much the hemisphere's concern. Nicaragua has signed treaties that bind it not to interfere in other nations and not to provide bases for hostile powers. Punishing it for any such transgressions would have widespread support among the American people and significant support throughout the Americas.

The right and realistic message to the Sandinistas is: Live but let live. Choose your own path, but expect help only if it is democratic. Supply revolutionaries in El Salvador or elsewhere and expect the United States to supply counterrevolutionaries in Nicaragua. Give the Russians or Cubans bases for war against other American societies and the response will be war.

That would be a clear policy and, properly managed, a legal policy. Conflicts that cannot be forcibly ended have to be negotiated. And while acts of force can sometimes assist negotiation, they can do so only when the adversary is given a comprehensible and attractive alternative.

The Right Rules for Cable

With the hyperbole now common in discussions of cable TV regulation, New York's franchise director calls it "a vicious" bill. He refers to a proposed Federal law that tries to strike a balance between chaotic local regulation and commercial freedom for the new medium. Though the legislation could be improved, the urban alarm seems unwarranted.

The proposed bill, passed by the Senate and pending in the House, would set firm limits on city regulation of cable TV. Cities could enforce existing franchise contracts for ten years but they could not easily deny renewals to operators who fulfill their obligations. The law would limit the fees that cities may charge in future agreements to 5 percent of the cable revenues. It would remove price controls on cable services that compete with at least four clear over-the-air television signals. It would prohibit price controls over secondary services like burglar alarms or high-capacity links between computers.

In turn, the law would require companies like Time Inc. that own both cable lines (Manhattan Cable) and program services (HBO) to make their lines available to competing program services.

Cable operators urge these changes because many companies fear a costly, inconsistent pattern of regulation from city to city. That could discourage investors that they wouldn't put up the huge sums needed to lay cables into most communities.

Though not ideal, the pending bill promises the kind of boost cable seems to need. Only a few years ago, its potential appeared unlimited. Rushing for

urban franchises, cable operators were willing to promise almost anything: 100-plus channels... special channels and studios for local politicians... even nominally "free" basic service.

City governments, scenting a new source of license income — and applause for "protecting the public" — eagerly pressed the franchise bidders to bid up their commitments. Now reality dawns and the high cost of wiring, especially in large cities, dominates the discussion. Quality programming to fill all the promised channels is hard to come by. Other technologies, delivering signals by satellite or telephone line, pose a serious threat.

Some cable companies now concede that they beat out competitors by overpromising shamelessly; the pending bill gives them no immediate relief. Some cities, in turn, acknowledge the new cable economics and are relaxing contract terms or inviting new bids. Other cities propose writing still more laws to protect cable against other technologies.

More local regulation, however, risks only more confusion and less competition. A Federal standard could produce enough stability to let the cabling proceed. The New York Times, though it owns a cable division in southern New Jersey, has no direct stake in this debate. And this page argued last year that it seemed unwise to legislate into the teeth of a rapidly changing technology.

But the pace of change, and the propensity of some city officials to use cable controls to demonstrate political muscle, argue for a clearer Federal standard. Timely action by Congress may give cable a chance to prove its appeal to consumers.

The Editorial Notebook

Scattered Signposts to Man

Dinosaurs took eons to rise to ascendancy, but humans appear so abruptly in the evolutionary record that their origins are still shrouded in mist and controversy. The fossil evidence of human evolution is so sparse that almost every significant remain can be gathered in a single room.

A notable exhibition that opens today at the American Museum of Natural History does just that. Skulls and bones have been assembled from museums round the world. Just a handful of small display cases suffices to hold the fossil record of the 30 million years since humans and apes began to diverge from a common ancestor.

Even more eloquent than the few crushed skulls and battered bones is the cast of human-like footprints made by two adults and a child as they walked across a mud flat at Laetoli in Tanzania. Crossed by trails of other animals fleeing from a volcanic eruption, the footprints were cemented by ash that fell shortly afterward. They record just a few seconds, frozen from 3.7 million years ago, of

The Evidence Of Evolution In One Room

the obscure path that leads to man. Paleontology, the study of human origins, is a vigorous but contentious subject. The paucity of evidence allows everyone who unearths a new piece of jawbone to redraw the family tree, with the new find at the center and rivals' discoveries on branches that come to dead ends. The bones of contention are all here — Sivapithecus and Aegyptopithecus, "Lucy" and Zinjanthropus, Homo habilis and Homo erectus, the Taung child and the misunderstood Neanderthals.

The relations between these hominids and their living descendants is still a matter of fierce conjecture. Though the disputants favor bold lines, the hominid family tree is still best drawn with dots and question

marks. This week's paleoanthropological dispute is the iconoclastic assertion that humans are more closely related to orangutangs than to chimpanzees, as is generally believed.

Analysis of the genetic material suggests that humans and chimpanzees share so much of their genetic rule book — some 98 percent — that they must have diverged as recently as five million years ago. Modern man stepped forward only 40,000 years ago.

The social behaviors that accompanied this emergence are keenly sought because they define the nature of human existence. Some surmise that hunting was the critical impetus, others say toolmaking or pair bonding through the continual sexual availability of women (as opposed to the intermittent interest of apes).

The test of all these conjectures is in the footprints and handful of bones at the American Museum. They're the only keys to the riddle. They cannot quite speak, but even to hear their muteness is worth a visit.

NICHOLAS WADE

Letters

This Is No Time to Scrap the Fairness Doctrine

To the Editor:

I was dismayed to read your April 3 editorial supporting the Packwood bill to repeal the F.C.C.'s fairness doctrine. This doctrine safeguards the vital First Amendment right of reasonable access by the public to publicly owned airwaves. Its elimination would give sole discretion for allocating political air time to government-selected licensees. Others, unable to afford their advertising rates, would be left with no recourse.

The irony is that inordinate power to control the flow of information would thereby be given to the Federal Government, in the name of deregulation. The Government, through the F.C.C., chooses those who will be licensed to broadcast over the airwaves. Without the fairness doctrine to protect those not granted the privilege of a license, the F.C.C. would in effect have the power to determine which political viewpoints have exclusive broadcast exposure. The opportunity for abuse is obvious.

You argue that the diversity provided by new technologies will solve the access needs of those disenfranchised, but your examples are rather fanciful. Cable access channels command a tiny fraction of the audience of standard broadcast stations, which may reach millions of viewers at a single time in a major market. Satellite access does not yet even exist on a practical level. Barring a drastic change in the availability of these media, broadcast exposure remains, unfortunately, a scarce resource, in need of rationing.

There is also little credibility in the analogy to electronic transmission of print text. Under the Federal Communications Act, transmission services are "common carriers," required to grant access to all requesting it. In effect, they have a built-in fairness doctrine of their own. Why then eliminate similar protections regard-

ing standard broadcast stations? Repeal of the fairness doctrine would place access to a uniquely influential medium in the exclusive hands of a relatively small group of licensees. Most gain sizable financial rewards from their licenses. To require that they set aside a few minutes each week for the free marketplace of ideas, which they rightfully should provide anyway, seems like a trivial imposition.

How can that outweigh the imposition on First Amendment access rights of the rest of the population? The day when diversity of the airwaves can provide such protection has not yet arrived.

ROBERT I. FIELD
Boston, April 6, 1984
The writer, a former F.C.C. attorney, is a staff attorney at the Center for Law and Health Sciences at Boston University Law School.

To the Editor:

The Times editorial supporting Senator Packwood's "Freedom of Expression Act" fails to focus on the bill's truly harmful impact. In

calling for near total deregulation of the airwaves, this bill would abolish existing obligations of broadcasters to "afford reasonable opportunity for the discussion of conflicting views on issues of public importance." The present statutory framework is actually more effective in promoting the diversity of ideas that you wish to see.

Technological progress will not necessarily increase the information that reaches the public on candidates and issues, nor will it guarantee public access to the airwaves.

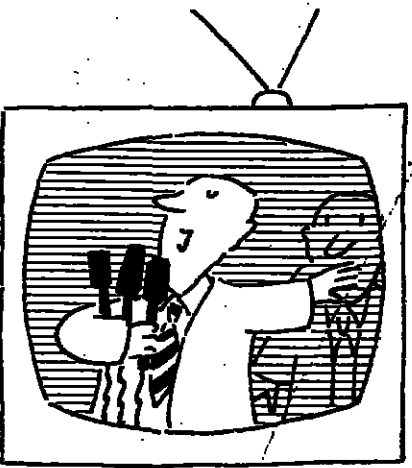
At the same time, proposals by the F.C.C. calling for the elimination of regulations regarding multiple ownership will add to the increasing concentration of media ownership, so that despite a burgeoning number of broadcast outlets we will hear from a smaller and more homogeneous group of broadcasters, which will further decrease diversity.

Another danger in Senator Packwood's bill would be its effect of eliminating the personal attack rule, which generally mandates that broadcasters provide individuals whose honesty or integrity has been disparaged with a reasonable opportunity to respond.

In addition, by abolishing the fairness doctrine, the bill would seriously undermine F.C.C. authority to review licensing and renewal applications and thus lessen a broadcaster's obligation to be responsive to community needs.

The Times is concerned about diversity of ideas, yet its editorial position favors discarding the very mechanism which ensures diversity by guaranteeing public access to the airwaves.

SEYMOUR REICH
New York, April 4, 1984
The writer heads the National Civil Rights Committee of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.



On Broadcasting How a Vote Is Going

To the Editor:

To those of us in the broadcasting branch of the news business, newspapers sometimes can be an exasperating uncle.

A Times editorial of April 5 asserted that network evening news programs are "cheating the voters" on election nights by using highly qualified language to report trends based on exit polls. For example, at 7 P.M. on the night of the New York primary, ABC News reported, "It appears to be going well for Walter Mondale." The Times argues such "premature reporting... can taint the vote."

How tainted then might have been the vote in New Hampshire after The Times reported the morning of its primary that "Walter F. Mondale now holds the most commanding lead ever recorded this early in a Presidential nomination campaign..." Or the week before in Iowa, when The Times declared without qualification or attribution that Mr. Mondale "is expected to win the caucuses handily."

It escapes me how reporting what is known early in the day is permissible for newspapers while doing the same later in the day ought to be proscribed by broadcasters.

Conceivably, both pre-election polls and exit polls affect somebody's decision whether or not to vote. But the evidence for such an effect is very thin and inconclusive. The latest analysis of survey research published in the journal Public Opinion indicates that 0.2 percent of eligible voters in 1980 said they failed to vote because of news coverage before polls had closed.

What seems far more significant — and statistically indisputable — is that in the 1980 election 88.8 percent of

registered voters cast their ballots. That is an impressively high percentage for any democracy.

The serious problem affecting voting turnout in this country is not reporting of news. It is the failure of citizens to register. As long as about 50 million Americans remain unregistered, they will be non-voters whatever news they read or hear on Election Day.

GEORGE WATSON
Vice President, ABC News
New York, April 11, 1984

The Canadian Way

To the Editor:

Your editorial about broadcasting's abuses on election days struck home with me. On several occasions, not the least of which was the last Presidential election, I have been furious to hear dramatic projections of results before the polls were closed.

The solution is obvious. In Canada, no broadcaster is allowed to start reporting election results until the polls close. During national elections, the networks pick up regional stations as time zones permit. I suppose someone might still call from Vancouver to a station in St. John to find out how his favorite candidate was doing, but the major bandwagon effect of continuous early reporting is obviously forestalled. Canadians seem happy enough with the equity of this polling-time blackout.

The process of electing officials is so important and so vulnerable to inappropriate influence that it seems a small thing to ask for a suspension of reporting until the polls close.

MARION SCHWARTZ
Chicago, April 5, 1984

Writers' Shelf Life

To the Editor:

There is a clear analogy between the plight of recording artists that prompted your March 30 editorial "What Price Home Taping?" and the plight of writers whose books are in public libraries. The recording artist loses income each time someone tapes his work from the radio instead of buying the record. We authors lose income each time someone checks our book out of the library instead of buying it. No matter how often that copy is read, we only get the royalty on a single sale.

Denmark, Sweden, West Germany and Britain have put into effect a concept called public lending right. The plans differ in detail, but in each case the payments involved come from government funds; the library remains free to the public. Under the British plan, which went into operation this year after 30 years of debate, authors receive payments, scaled to the number of times their books are checked out, from a \$3 million fund.

Senator Charles Mathias of Maryland has introduced a bill to create a commission to study the subject. If we authors bestir ourselves, perhaps after another 30 years we — more likely, our heirs — will begin to get the income we should have been getting since long before anyone dreamed of the tape recorder.

DAVID HAPGOOD
New York, March 31, 1984

The Times welcomes letters from readers. Letters for publication must include the writer's name, address and telephone number. Because of the large volume of mail received, we regret that we are unable to acknowledge or to return unpublished letters.

Persian Gulf: Dream Come True for Speculators

To the Editor:

Both William Safire's March 23 column about Persian Gulf oil and Henry S. Rowen's April 2 letter in rebuttal fail to explain why U.S. and allied policies regarding the gulf are and will continue to be counterproductive.

One has only to look at the enormous dollar value shifts that even minor geopolitical changes cause to the world energy markets. It is obvious that gulf oil production generates the largest producer markup of any major world commodity, as Saudi oil is sold at levels approaching 98 percent gross profit margins. As "everybody" has agreed to use gulf prices as the world benchmark, it is apparent that the leverage deriving from influence over Persian Gulf events is almost inconceivably stupendous.

By comparison, big-industry profits, in other geographic areas and excluding oil producers, are only a small fraction of input costs. And the largest non-gulf profit opportunities are highly leveraged speculative investments prompted by geopolitical shifts in the gulf area.

It is important from a money-

making view whether fluctuation is up or down; that is the province of industrialists and politicians. The rate at which shrewd speculators make money is determined by changes in the velocity of effects, not by concern for industrial profitability or international morality.

If one examines the structure of world oil marketing, it is evident that virtually all supply and pricing in almost all countries are determined by universal political considerations. Subtle tinkering can result in predictable fluctuations that properly positioned speculators can use as powerful financial levers.

The 1972 "oil shock" resulted in the largest shift of wealth in recorded history. Today's tinkering in oil politics by positioned speculators is a repeat performance. As an explanation of the insanity that passes for "Arab politics," my thesis makes far more sense than the incomplete and peripheral speculations of both Safire and Rowen. One must accept that in international politics greed is more powerful than morality.

HARVEY A. DERSH
New York, April 2, 1984

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FOREIGN AFFAIRS

One Woman's Choices

By Flora Lewis

PARIS, April 14 — Ginetta Sagan is talking. She is a roly-poly, middle-aged woman with a sunlit smile. When she was a girl in her native Milan, they called her "Topolino" ("little mouse") because she was so small and chipper.

She is remembering those days, against her will at times because she can't help breaking down in sobs when certain names come up. At other times, she bursts out laughing as she recalls narrow escapes. "My God, it was crazy," she says.

"When we talk about the human capacity for evil, it knows no bounds. But I saw the capacity of some for courage. It knows no bounds either. So you have to choose, which one do you want to help."

Her first choice came when she was 17, shortly after Italy signed an armistice with the Allies in 1943 and the Nazis poured into the north to keep the war going. She was the coddled daughter of two doctors. Her father joined the underground, and was killed. Her mother was sent to Dachau and never reappeared.

She decided to fight. "I knew I could never shoot anybody, but I didn't have the slightest qualms at slashing the tires of a Gestapo car, pouring

A lifelong devotion to human rights

precious sugar in the engine, sabotaging a train," she says. Mostly her job was to help people hide and try to free them when they were captured.

She was caught and tortured. "All the usual things — beatings, rape, electric shocks," she says demurely. But then, with earnest passion, she goes on to say that it is particularly hard and particularly important for women who've been tortured to admit it.

"This indignity, you have to learn it's not you, it's the torturer. It took me a long time. But I must tell. I urge the women when I see them, don't be ashamed. Don't let them make you feel you're a freak."

Mrs. Sagan was rescued dramatically on April 23, 1945, just before the end of the war. A few years later, she went to study in the U.S., married a medical student in Chicago, and worked to help him through school. Eventually, they settled near San Francisco and she expected to be a suburban housewife, busy with their three children.

But her choice keeps driving her. She is a founding member of Amnesty International in the U.S., deeply engaged now in its campaign for a worldwide ban on torture. It is her kind of group: nonpolitical, careful with facts, prepared to talk to anybody and listen to everybody who has a choked, intolerable story to tell about the evil and the courage they have seen in the world.

The wonder is her cheeriness — persistent, bubbling, natural. But perhaps it isn't such a wonder. "I was very loved," she says.

"I could feel it. I was helped so much. That's the important thing, to know you're not alone. To be cared for, treated, physically and psychologically reassured as quickly as possible."

After all, slavery, which lasted almost as long as human society, was abolished when enough people chose to oppose it. There have always been wars, but after World War I indignation and choices led to the Geneva Convention on Prisoners of War. After World War II, nations outlawed genocide.

There has long been torture, but now it is systematized, spreading, refined into an instrument of governance. Amnesty's recent report says over 100 countries use torture as a policy of repression, but it didn't name them on the grounds that its knowledge isn't complete and none should benefit from being left off the list because of lack of information.

An international convention banning torture wouldn't end it any more than other laws and other crimes, but it could impose an important inhibition. Another thing Mrs. Sagan says she learned during those frightening days in northern Italy was that "all the propaganda, all the lies — it meant they were hiding something. You ask what they are hiding, and it helps make your choice."

Amnesty's method of publicity, pestering insistence, has succeeded in bringing the release of thousands of "prisoners of conscience" as it calls them, deliberately avoiding the phrase "political prisoners" as too narrow, too susceptible to partisan implications.

Its new proposal would make torture an international crime, subject to prosecution anywhere a torturer is found.

Two of the men who abused Mrs. Sagan escaped. It still frightens her to think of meeting them someday. She doesn't seek vengeance, or punishment, but assurance that they cannot start again, deterrence for others.

One day, she says, when she has time she plans to write a book about making choices. The reason for telling about her, meanwhile, is not just the goodness that she radiates, but the fact that her choice has clearly made her such a happy person.

WASHINGTON — The Senate's vote last week to condemn the mining of Nicaragua's harbors was more than a signal about what we are doing in Central America. It was also a clear response to the President's complaints two weeks ago about Congressional meddling in foreign policy. Indeed, the President should anticipate greater activity by Congress in the field of foreign policy. Nothing is so conducive to action as the sting of being ignored on your own territory.

The President's complaint was a pre-emptive strike against Congress. A better method of avoiding confrontation would be to return to the observance of the rules for making foreign policy prescribed by the Constitution.

When the President made war in Grenada, he had to assert that Americans were in danger to justify his action. He never proved they were, but he was forgiven because the action seemed successful — if the violation of treaties is discounted and the expense of adopting a ward is overlooked.

When the President ordered the bombing and shelling of Druse positions in Lebanon, he again asserted

Charles McC. Mathias Jr., Republican of Maryland, is a member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

Congress Will Meddle

By Charles McC. Mathias Jr.

that Americans were in danger and that somehow the rain of fire would enhance their safety. In this case, the danger was clear, but whether the firepower helped is still much in doubt.

When the President ordered the United States to be an accomplice in an act of war by helping to mine the harbors of Nicaragua, he went a little further out on the constitutional limb. He made war against a nation with which we exchange diplomats, in violation of a treaty, without a pretense of saving American lives and without consulting Congress.

One case may be an anomaly. Two cases may be a coincidence. But it is not irrational to perceive a pattern when the third case falls into line.

The President's real complaints are that Congress does not fully agree with him and that he doesn't know what to do about it. There is a solution, and it is found in the Constitution. The legislative and executive branches of Government were created by separate articles of the Constitution, but each article makes frequent reference to the other. Coordination of the branches is not only implied, it is assumed. If the President would return to the policy of conference and consultation prior to acting — as Secretary of State George P. Shultz did, for example, in his discussions with Congress before the Reagan plan for the West Bank was proclaimed in September 1982 — then the President would suffer less frustration and gain more support.

Who, in the American political system, ratifies treaties with foreign nations, confirms ambassadors, regulates foreign trade and declares war? The answer, as every pupil learns early in school, is Congress. The power and the duty to perform these acts of shaping and executing foreign policy is found in the Constitution. The Constitution also gives Congress the related powers to raise armies, to regulate the armed forces and to make rules for captures by land and by water.

Thus, when President Reagan scolds Congress for meddling in foreign affairs, his complaint is really about the Founding Fathers, whose foresight gave him a partner in

the business of international diplomacy.

Perhaps the President is merely unhappy that fate has assigned him such a difficult and unreasonable partner instead of a docile and undemanding one. Does he have a legitimate grievance?

The record does not disclose a single instance in which Congress turned down a request by President Reagan in the field of foreign policy. He asked for and received authority to keep Marines in Lebanon for 18 months. The fact that they stayed only six months after that authorization was due to other factors than lack of Congressional consent.

The other side of the ledger is not so clear. The power to declare war is the sole prerogative of Congress. Yet President Reagan asserts the power to make war at his own risk and with the knowledge that he may be trespassing on ground forbidden to him by the Constitution.

The lines of responsibility for the conduct of foreign affairs may seem fuzzy at times, but one thing at least is clear. If the President wants to pick a quarrel with Congress about who's to blame for foreign policy failures, he would do well to recall the sage observation of the British statesman, Lord Hailsham: "The best way I know of to win an argument is to start by being in the right."

WASHINGTON

If Reagan Wins...

By James Reston

WASHINGTON, April 14 — President Reagan's decision to use emergency power for funds for El Salvador without the approval of Congress and in its absence during the Easter recess tells us more about the President than anything else.

There is no "emergency" in El Salvador that wasn't there a month ago, and even if there is, the President couldn't help El Salvador much, if at all, in the few days when the members of Congress are back home. This was not a mission of mercy, but a personal Presidential act of defiance of Congress.

So what's going on? An election is going on, that's what. The Great Impersonator is getting ready to run against Congress, with "Give 'em hell" Harry Truman as his latest role model.

Mr. Reagan has an excuse. The Congress has been second-guessing his Presidential authority overseas — maybe more than it should — but it is doing so because it is sincerely concerned that the President's own impulsive first-guessing about military "solutions" in Lebanon and in Central America is not working.

When the Senate and the House force him to withdraw the Marines from Lebanon; and the Senate and the House, with the help of the Republicans, vote overwhelmingly against his mining of Nicaraguan harbors; and the British Prime Minister, Mr. Thatcher's ideological buddy, condemns the sowing of the mines, and the French President offers to sweep them away — you have to assume that something's wrong, and wonder what the President is doing.

The guess in this corner about why he takes these actions is that it is partly political and partly personal. The more he reads or hears that he's not really in charge of his foreign policy, the more he charges, often against the advice of his own people, and often in the wrong direction.

Whatever they say, Ronald Reagan's got his Irish up. He plunges into Lebanon and orders his battleships to fire into villages against unidentified enemies, and he authorizes the C.I.A. to recruit mercenaries to mine Nicaraguan harbors; he denounces illegal terrorism in the world and uses it himself, and defies the World Court to hold him to account for his actions.

His policy in Lebanon, many of his own people admit, was stupid; his decision to mine harbors in Nicaragua, as Barry Goldwater pointed out, was sneaky. His effort to blame Congress for his failures only assures that he won't get the money he wants for his Central American policy, and even if he wins in November, that he will face a hostile Congress.

Will he win on these deficits at home and abroad? This is the main question of the election. We are told that the mining of the harbors was merely a "holding operation," part of a strategic plan until after the election, when Mr. Reagan would then be free to use U.S. military power to resolve Central American civil wars according to his desires.

Let Mr. Reagan argue this theme to the young people who will have to fight his wars in the Middle East and in Central America. The Wall Street Journal is advising him to stand tall against Congress, the allies and the World Court.

"Mr. Reagan is telling his partisan opponents one thing," says The Journal. "If they want an election over Central America, they can jolly well have one."

This is not a bad idea, but it won't be jolly if the voters take time to think about Mr. Reagan's record in Central America, in Lebanon or about his relations with the allies and the Russians, or if they really think that four more years of Ronald Reagan will be useful if he blames Congress for the failures that seem to have gone to his head.

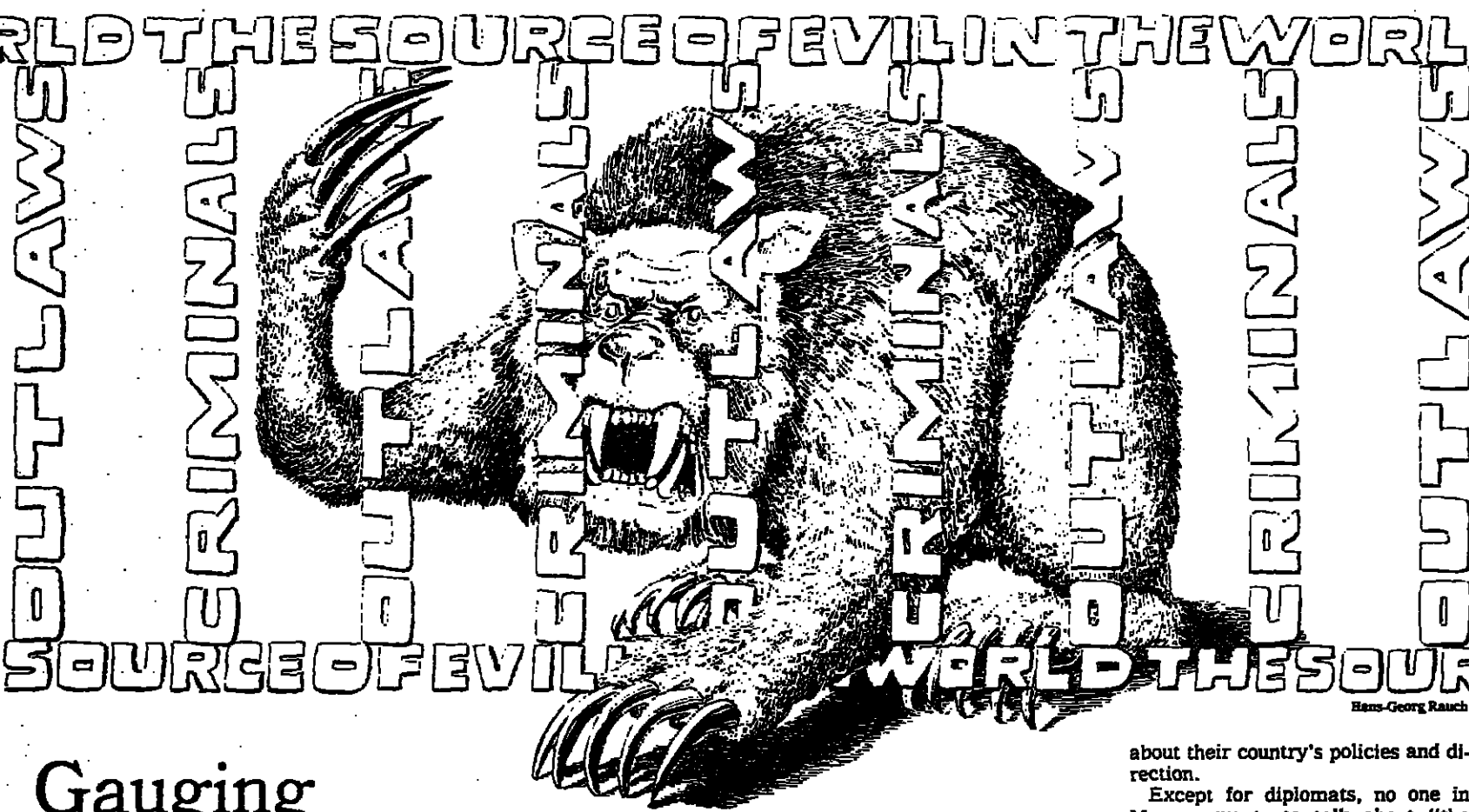
If Mr. Reagan wins, consider the consequences. He will assume, with good reason, that the people approve of his economic policies at home and his militaristic policies abroad.

More important — maybe the most important issue of all — is that in the next four years the President elected in November will appoint a majority of the members of the present aging Supreme Court of the United States.

Mr. Reagan is not happy with his relations with Congress. He thinks, with some reason, that the War Powers Act limiting his authority is a violation of Presidential power over the conduct of foreign affairs, even a violation of the Constitution. If re-elected, he wants Ed Meese as his Attorney General to appeal his case before a Supreme Court that includes members of his own choosing, a Court that would preside over the law of the land not only until the end of the 80's but probably until the end of the century.

So there are some things for voters to ponder in this election besides who's got the beef or how old Ronald Reagan or Gary Hart really are. The election is not about the past but about the future; not about who's going but about who's coming, and who, if anybody, in this election has a vision of the coming age.

It's clear that in this Republic we face wholly new problems — the decline of old industries and the rise of new technologies, among other things — and also the issue of our relations with the changing world. This is the future we have not heard about from President Reagan, and not very much about from his Democratic opponents.



Gauging Moscow's Mood

By Olin Robison

MIDDLEBURY, Vt. — The main thing an American hears in Moscow these days is how mad the Russians are at Ronald Reagan and his Administration. They want you to know that they are angry and bitter.

Americans who study the Russians are currently debating how serious all this is, whether it is genuine or feigned, whether it is as emotionally intense as it seems, or whether it is yet another orchestrated ritual.

After several days in Moscow this month, I came away convinced that it is all of the above.

For the last four years the centerpiece of Soviet policy toward the United States and Europe has been an attempt to block the deployment in Europe of American Pershing 2 and cruise missiles. During this same

Olin Robison, who recently visited the Soviet Union, is president of Middlebury College.

time, the Soviet Union modernized its own missiles aimed at Western Europe with a new generation of very sophisticated and accurate missiles.

Once deployment of the American missiles began at the end of last year, the Soviet Union stopped the arms control talks at Geneva.

In Moscow, one Russian said to me of the American deployment, "It was a crisis as important to us as Soviet troops in Afghanistan were to you." Well, maybe so. But if so, it is partly because they came to believe their own polemics, originally designed to influence European public opinion. Their propaganda campaign took on a life of its own. The missiles assumed a political importance beyond their military significance. The Russians started out trying to scare the Europeans and wound up scaring themselves.

Having put so many of its foreign policy eggs in one basket, the Kremlin now faces the problem of putting the best possible face on a major failure. That task is made more difficult by an apparent lack of consensus at the top in Moscow on what to do next. The only recurring theme in conversations in Moscow is that Soviet-American relations are at an appallingly dangerous point and that it is Ronald Reagan's fault.

However, there is an element of

convenience in all the anger. I did not sense in Moscow general despair or convincing fear.

Frankly, what one hears in Moscow today is very much like what was heard there during 1977, after Jimmy Carter became President and human rights issues assumed a greater importance in the Soviet-American relationship. In time, the Soviet Union decided to discredit Mr. Carter's human rights image by waging a highly successful campaign against the neutron bomb. Once they were on the offensive again, their polemics changed.

In other words, it seems probable that the "anger and bitterness" could subside when Soviet leaders settle on a new policy discussion on arms control, which, in turn, will determine the tone and substance of their entire policy toward America and Europe.

Their dislike of Ronald Reagan is indeed intense. "He offends our national pride," a well-placed Russian said. "How can we deal with a man who calls us outlaws, criminals and the source of evil in the world?" There can be no mistaking the prevalence of this view. It is everywhere and it is genuine.

However, even on this point one suspects that the diatribes about the American President mark a sense of drift among Soviet citizens, who are knowledgeable and usually articulate

about their country's policies and direction.

Except for diplomats, no one in Moscow wants to talk about "the leadership." That is nothing new. But today it is even more pronounced than usual. Among some Western diplomats in Moscow, there is an image of Konstantin U. Chernenko as caretaker, as a relatively ineffective leader surrounded by stronger colleagues, each of whom is a relatively free agent on his own turf.

A pale Mikhail S. Gorbachev, the party secretary for agriculture and a young 53, has emerged as the No. 2 man. There are rumors that deals have been struck providing a measure of protection for the younger men promoted under Yuri V. Andropov. In the meantime, some Western journalists in Moscow report that some of those ousted in the Brezhnev era "have been rehabilitated or at least made more comfortable."

Mr. Gorbachev is described as intellectually able, well educated, politically adept and administratively competent. He has traveled more than most of his colleagues. He even made one trip to Canada. He will need all that skill if he is to emerge on top. The role of heir apparent in Moscow has an unhappy history.

The anger with President Reagan is real. The anti-American polemics are harsh. The times are bad. But it is hard to escape, too, the sense in Moscow of marking time and waiting for better, more decisive days ahead.

Frank Church, Democratic Senator from Idaho from 1956 to 1980, died on April 7. What follows are excerpts from his speeches.

Head-in-the-sand isolationism died a generation ago. But the pendulum of our foreign policy can swing from one extreme to the other. Once we thought that anything which happened abroad was none of our business; now we evidently think that everything which happens abroad has become our business. In 30 years, an excess of isolationism has been transformed into an excess of interventionism.

Why have we spread ourselves so thin? What compulsion draws us, ever deeper, into the internal affairs of so many countries in Africa and Asia, having so remote a connection with the vital interests of the United States?

The answer, I think, stems from our intensely ideological view of the cold war. We have come to treat "Communism," regardless of what form it may take in any given country, as the enemy. We fancy ourselves as guardian of the "free" world, though most of it is not free, and never has been. We seek to immunize this world against further Communist infection through massive injections of American aid, and, wherever necessary, through direct American intervention.

Such a vast undertaking has at least two defects. First, it exceeds our national capability. Second, among the newly emerging nations, where the specter of Western imperialism is dreaded more than Communism, such a policy can be self-defeating. As a seasoned, friendly foreign diplomat recently put it: "The United States is getting involved in situations where no one — not even a nation of saints — would be welcome."

This is not to say that we should write off Africa or Asia. It is to say that a foreign policy of intervention, which was right for Western Europe, is apt to be wrong for continents which have just thrown off European rule.

— from a speech to the Senate on February 17, 1983

Thoughts on The Limits to American Power

By Frank Church

Experience demonstrates that, at best, American aid has had only a marginal influence throughout the "third world" in promoting either stability or development, and almost no influence whatever on whether a country "goes Communist," as Cuba and Chile have shown. The countries of Asia and Africa which have remained non-Communist have done so, not because the United States has succeeded in buying their allegiance or in launching them toward economic "takeoff," but because they have not wished to become Communist, regarding Communism as an alien ideology, or because their populations have been too poor and illiterate to be interested in ideology at all. The Russians have had no greater success in buying ideological converts with aid than we have had in trying to head them off.

— from recommendations to the Democratic Party platform committee, June 1972

I do not suggest that the United States prefers or admires the dictatorial regimes it subsidizes, but only that there is little we can do with our aid to change them, all the more since these regimes can blackmail us so easily with the threat of Communism if they should fail.

The Kennedy Administration did make an effort to encourage democratic and progressive policies in countries to which it extended aid, especially in Latin America, but that effort was a failure and the reasons for that failure are instructive. We failed because we had neither the ability to impose reform from outside nor the will to pursue it from within. The one was simply impossible; the other went against the priority of our own interests as we conceived them. However much we may have wanted reform and development, we wanted "stability," anti-Communism and a favorable climate for investment more.

The experience of 20 years of aid shows that we can neither bring about fundamental reform in tradition-encrusted societies nor prevent revolution in those countries where the tide of change runs deep and strong; all we can really do is to service the status quo in countries where it is not strongly challenged anyhow.

— from a speech opposing the 1972 Foreign Assistance Authorization Act

The American people were not prepared by their national experience for the role of either ideological crusader or practitioner of the old style 19th century Realpolitik. We came to believe that we could set a democratic example to the world by the way we governed our own society, and we came to believe after each of the two world wars that it was worthwhile to try to build something new under the sun. There was, after all, no tried and true system to fall back upon. The old Concert of Europe lay in ruins and the balance-of-power system had been utterly discredited. Under the circumstances, it seemed a reasonable, practical necessity to try to move forward in international relations from the rule of force toward the rule of law, from the unreliable balance-of-power to a world security community. That idea is still valid and it cannot be said that it has failed because it has never really been tried.

— from recommendations to the Democratic Party platform committee, June 1972

To Be A Tokyo Quartet Player

By HEIDI WALESON

The Tokyo String Quartet has been a chamber-music unit since 1969, famous for its crystalline, elegant playing, its recordings of Haydn and Bartok, and generally considered one of the world's premiere ensembles. But three years ago, the Tokyo's first violinist, Koichiro Harada, left the group, and put its members to the daunting task of finding a violinist who would match its well-established personality.

Kikuei Ikeda (violin), Kazuhide Isomura (viola) and Sadao Harada (cello, no relation to Koichiro) are Juilliard-trained and live in the New York area, with access to the teeming universe of string players here and abroad. But they are also Japanese, and might have been expected to choose a compatriot as their new first violinist. It was therefore something of a surprise when they selected Peter Oundjian, who at 25 was not only not Japanese, but 10 years their junior, and with little chamber-music experience.

The Tokyo players knew what they were doing, however. Today, the quartet seems stronger than ever, its elegance infused with a "new sensitivity and inner vitality" according to The New York Times critic John Rockwell. And despite the trauma and uncertainty that accompanies any such transition, all four members are delighted with the results.

Mr. Oundjian, though chosen for the compatibility of his musical personality, has in fact galvanized the group in part through his differences. Whether they are amplifying each other's statements while coaching a student quartet, or bantering and trading affectionate insults (in English) among themselves, all the Tokyo players appear to have fused Japanese reticence and politeness with Western directness and humor for a dynamic result. The change is both musical and personal.

"We always had sort of a pre-fixed



Peter Oundjian and Kikuei Ikeda, violinists; Kazuhide Isomura, violist; and Sadao Harada, cellist.

concept," said Mr. Isomura, talking about the quartet's musical interpretations. "This new guy is now undoing the whole thing." Amid general laughter he added, "That's an exaggeration, but I think we are more relaxed about things. And we are getting a little more extroverted, probably."

The original Tokyo quartet was always a tight group. Educated at the Toho Music Academy in Tokyo, they were "crazy quartet players" according to Mr. Isomura, interested in nothing else. Members of the Juilliard String Quartet heard them while on tour in Japan in 1966, and helped them get to the United States to study. The four players (the original second violinist was a woman, Yoshiko Nakura) were reunited at Juilliard. They won the Young Concert Artists audition in 1969 and the Coleman Auditions in Pasadena a year later, effectively launching their career. When Miss Nakura left in 1974, the other players brought Mr. Ikeda from

Japan to study at Juilliard and ultimately to take her place.

Mr. Oundjian, on the other hand, is a Canadian citizen who was educated in England and came to study at Juilliard with Ivan Galamian at the age of 19. Although he also studied with members of the Juilliard Quartet and hoped to have his own quartet someday, he had already embarked on a promising solo career when he was approached by the Tokyo.

"We were all playing our cards rather carefully," Mr. Oundjian recalled. "They didn't really say, 'Well, would you like to join?' and I didn't say, 'Can I join?' We were a little bit nervous about my background, my not being Japanese, although they were convinced that it was the musical personality they were looking for, not necessarily another Japanese. But then they invited me to play with them at the Van Cliburn competition, and we saw that it wasn't so strange."

Although the position to be filled was that of first violinist, the Tokyo

says that leadership was not an issue. "The Tokyo didn't really lose a leader," Mr. Oundjian explained. "There may be people who lead in different fields: someone may be in charge of publicity, or things like that, but when we sit down to play, we try our very hardest to be equals. If we're playing the first movement of the Smetana quartet, the violinist is probably the leader, just as when we're playing the beginning of the Brahms G-major Quintet, it's probably the cellist."

"It's not a question of avoiding leadership, or being neurotic about being democratic all the time," he continued. "We're not trying to even things out too much either — there's always a danger that when you try not to be aggressive the playing will be wishy-washy. So we try to keep enough personality and character in our individual playing, and yet retain the sense of real ensemble and real caring about how we're playing with each other all the time."

Mr. Harada said, "I know of a quar-

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ter in which the first violinist would mark the parts and put them in the music stands and the three others would just sit down and play. But I don't think any quartet does that today."

Loss of a first violinist may really be less traumatic than the loss of one of the other players. As Mr. Oundjian put it, "When the first violinist leaves, you still have the unit of the quartet there — the meat, the body of it, where the ensemble is the most delicate. If a first violinist is a little eccentric for a while, you could probably get away with it more easily than if any other player didn't know what was going on. So in my first few months, when I was perhaps nervous or uncomfortable, or just unpredictable, they could handle that without too much difficulty because they were so used to playing together."

Speaking for the Japanese members, Mr. Harada explained, "We all studied at Toho, which is a very strict school. We'd learn three symphonies a year, and play them over and over again until they were perfect. So in playing quartets, we'd do the same thing — rehearse and rehearse to make it a certain way, and then try to play exactly like that in the concert. That's why people always say the Tokyo plays 'perfectly,' which isn't true anyway. But since Peter joined, I think we express ourselves more freely. His background is quite different, his mentality is different in his approach to concerts from what ours used to be."

Mr. Oundjian says his own playing style has altered considerably too, though not necessarily in ways one might expect. "People said when I joined the quartet 'You'll never be able to play solos anymore, your sound will get smaller, your whole sense of style will get smaller.' In certain ways that's true, it's not easy to stand up and play big concertos. But the main difference is that the music is so different in concept. I think my sound has gotten bigger. It's had to! With another violin, viola and cello, all big and powerful Amatis" — the quartet plays a 17th-century family of instruments loaned by the Corcoran Gallery of Art — "you can't really afford to let the sound get small."

A schedule of 120 quartet concerts a

year leave Mr. Oundjian little time for solo playing, but he likes it that way. "So many people are going into chamber music today because they couldn't be soloists, not because they love the music," he said. "It's sad to see the great quartet literature treated as though it was second best after Tchaikovsky and Paganini concertos. That's the attitude that leads young groups to rip through difficult works like the late Beethoven quartets in a flashy way, just so people will notice them." The Tokyo players feel their own more subdued style ("music rather than psychodrama") arises out of a passion for the literature and care for its intricacies.

With the quartet members getting used to each other, and having their playing "jell", as Mr. Ikeda put it, it remained for their audiences to get used to them as well. Because Mr. Oundjian is dark and slight, like his fellow members, some audience members don't notice any difference at all. Mr. Isomura also pointed out that the quartet's fans in America and abroad were rooting for them, encouraging them to "find a nice violinist" and go on.

Earlier this year, however, they had another Rubicon to cross: their first tour of the Far East since the member change. At the time of the change, Mr. Harada said, some of their Japanese associates in the United States spread malicious rumors about why their first violinist left. What was more, when Mr. Harada visited Japan a year after Mr. Oundjian joined, he saw a Tokyo recording in a record shop bearing the label "Farewell Tokyo String Quartet" (and in tiny print, "with four Japanese"). Mr. Isomura, on a brief trip, encountered a record salesman who insisted that the quartet had disbanded.

So they approached their concerts in Japan with some trepidation. But after a bit of hostile questioning at the beginning of a Tokyo press conference, they were accepted, and are now planning to return in September 1985. The similarities, it appeared, were greater than the differences.

Heidi Waleson is a freelance writer on musical subjects.

Robin Williams as Emigre

By JUDY KLEMESRUD

Robin Williams has never been to Russia, nor is he of Russian descent. He's either English or Welsh, he says — "I can never remember which." But after a crash course in the Russian language, he says he can speak it well enough that real Russians think he is one of them, "or else Czech or Polish."

The results can be seen in the new Paul Mazursky comedy film, "Moscow on the Hudson," in which Mr. Williams received accolades as Vladimir Ivanoff, a gentle Russian musician who decides to defect during a visit to Bloomingdale's. Although the movie itself received mixed reviews, Vincent Canby called Mr. Williams's performance "first rate" and "extraordinarily complex — his Russian sounds amazingly, comically authentic."

Mr. Williams, clean-shaven after the "Moscow" role that required a heavy beard, explained how he learned to sound like a Russian during an interview in his hotel suite. "I studied five hours a day every day for three months," he said. "It was just like a Berlitz course. I learned how to write it and I learned how to read it. My teacher, David Gomburg, was a director in Russia, and he was always on the set, and he'd help me get back into the language or the accent if I started to fall out of it."

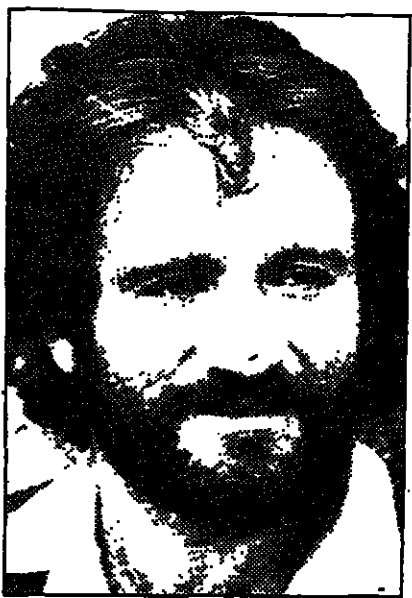
But acting in a foreign language and accent was not the most difficult part of playing Vladimir Ivanoff, he said. "The hardest was playing the saxophone, because I had never played an instrument before." He said he studied with Greg Phillips, a San Francisco saxophonist, two hours a day for about eight months before filming began. "I started out awful but I got to be O.K.," he said. "I was really playing in all the scenes, but eventually it was all overdubbed, because I only studied for such a short time. But I still play — I play soprano sax and my wife plays flute. We play Mozart concertos together."

In real life, the 31-year-old actor speaks softly and precisely, with a slight tinge of an English accent. He seems a bit shy when the subject is himself, running a hand through his brown hair and giving it an unruly, punk appearance. But then, without warning, he will take off into manic flights of fancy in which he speaks in the voice of William F. Buckley, or Jack Nicholson, or television's Mr. Rogers, or John Houseman. He is equally adept at switching from a German accent to a Spanish accent to a Texas accent to the accent of a tough urban black, all in a matter of seconds.

A long-time fancier of second-hand clothes, Mr. Williams was wearing a shiny green shirt from the 1940's and a pair of Chaplinesque baggy blue pants of the kind that grew to be his trademark on the now-defunct televi-

sion series, "Mork and Mindy," in which he first gained fame as the lovable alien from the planet Ork.

In choosing his film roles, Mr. Williams said he looks for the chance to portray people "with one tiny screw loose and a wheel in the sand." Knocking on a wooden table in front of him, he said he hoped that "Moscow on the Hudson" would be the breakthrough he needs to help him shed the clinging image of Mork. His three previous films, "Popeye," "The World According to Garp," and "The Survivors" were box-office duds that did not allow him to show



Robin Williams

his zany, multifaceted comedic talents as "Moscow on the Hudson" does.

"I think it's my best all-round film so far," he said. "I worked harder on it than I ever worked on a film. I would prepare for every scene the night before, so that when I came in to do it, I came in ready. I kept very careful track of the whole line of the story, because it was very important to show the daily changes that come over Vladimir when he comes from Russia to America."

Mr. Williams said that to keep from slipping out of the role, he "sort of submerged and isolated" himself from the rest of the cast and crew. "I suppose they thought I was moody," he said, "but I think they understood. It was very difficult for me, because basically I like to play, and to say things like, 'Oh, Bob, where's lunch?'"

He said he based the part of Vladimir on Vlad West, a real-life New York saxophonist who emigrated from Russia, and also on his Russian teacher, Mr. Gomburg. "The rest of the character is various parts of me," he said.

He said he met several times with Mr. West, whose small East Village walk-up apartment, complete with American flag shower curtains, was used as the model for Vladimir Ivan-

off's apartment in the film. "Vlad is a real, quiet, genteel man, very reserved," Mr. Williams said. "He told me a lot of stories about Russia, including how he had to stuff his sax with towels before he practiced, or put it inside an armchair, because you could lose your apartment in Moscow if you made too much noise. He also told me how he would sometimes have to play for parties for the K.G.B., and he showed me a picture of him at a jazz festival in Poland, in which there were more K.G.B. agents in the picture than there were musicians."

He said he was also given useful advice from several Soviet émigré actors who play major parts in the film, including Savely Kramarov ("He was the Jerry Lewis of Russia," Mr. Williams said), who plays a K.G.B. agent; Elya Baskin, who plays the clown who inspires Vladimir Ivanoff to defect; Alexander Beniaminov, who plays Vladimir's grandfather; Ludmila Kramarevsky, who plays his mother; and Oleg Rudnik, another K.G.B. agent.

Mr. Williams said his characterization was also helped by his chats with some of the 1,000 Russian-born extras who appeared in the crowd scenes in Munich, where the film's Moscow scenes were shot. "Many of them were actors or directors in Russia," he said, "and now most of them work for Radio Free Europe. They're the ones who told me I sounded like a real Russian, or if not that, a Czech or a Pole."

Does he think that "Moscow" has a message? He smiled. "Some people take it as too patriotic," he said. "But I take it from a personal view, that the thing that makes this country interesting is the people. I think a lot of Americans have lost track that we all basically came from that route."

Some reviewers have criticized the film on the grounds that it is too tough on Russia, especially in scenes that show the difficulties Russians have in purchasing such basic items as shoes and gasoline, and their ecstasy when soft toilet paper becomes available. In one scene, Vladimir Ivanoff faints during his first visit to an American supermarket after he sees all the brands of coffee for sale.

"Paul could have made it worse," Mr. Williams said, grinning. "He may have elaborated a touch to give you a taste of it in a short time. But there are long lines in America, too. He could have showed the lines at the Department of Motor Vehicles. But there are some worse things in Russia that he didn't show, and not just the oppression and the bureaucracy and the compromises. There's genuine harassment there. In Munich I met a guy who had spent 15 years in a mental hospital, just because he was a dissident artist."

Mr. Williams said he was eager for the film to be shown in Europe — the Cannes Film Festival turned it down because it was "too political," he said — and especially, in the Soviet Union.

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مكتبة الأمل

"WHEN TWO mothers get together these days they either talk about oozot or head lice," said a young woman who holds an executive position and lives in a classy neighbourhood.

There was a time when having affected rich and poor alike and the humour of it was not lost on Robert Burns when he composed his classic *Louse on Jenny's Bonnet*. The plague of head lice, body lice and public lice was common to all and the aristocracy spent as much time scratching as did the peasant.

With changes in standards of hygiene plus the advent of insecticides like DDT the problem was virtually eradicated and few people outside of those with very poor hygiene even thought of something like lice.

Today, with more and more insecticides being removed from the market because of fear that they may be harmful to the child has come full swing and whether your child studies in a prestigious private school or not offers no protection against ectoparasites.

Most common is the head louse, a tiny creature that crawls about in the hair and lays her eggs, glueing them to the hairs about 1 cm. from the scalp. There, where the temperature is about 32 degrees centigrade, the egg hatches in six to ten days, and the larval louse begins to whip about with a great deal of aggressive activity. The larva matures in about two weeks and the females breed, and begin to lay their eggs. Their life of a mature louse is about two weeks.

One female who has already been fertilized is quite enough to produce a strong infestation after a few weeks and even hairs with eggs attached can be a source of infestation.

Preventing head lice, according to Dr. Rafael Lidror, chief entomologist of the Health Ministry, is a matter of personal hygiene. The hair should always be kept clean.

Frequent shampooing in hot water, preferably about 43 degrees C. is a deterrent, as is frequent thorough combing with a fine tooth



A lousy subject

D'vora Ben Shaul investigates a modern plague.

comb. One should avoid using combs, brushes and towels that have been used by others.

In short, the pedantic middle class values that were adhered to until the Sixties by most of the western world is a deterrent to louse infestation.

Lidror says that the problem is not a particularly Israeli one. All over the world, as the stronger in-

secticides have been phased out and hygienic patterns have changed, there has been an increasing incidence of louse infestation. Both the U.S. and Britain have mounted campaigns to eradicate lice.

But getting rid of lice is another matter. There are at least ten shampoos and sprays on the market in Israel and none of them, except for one containing Carbo-Phos, that is

available only with a doctor's prescription, is as effective as either one might wish or as its makers claim it is.

The only non-prescription preparations available now are based on pyrethrins, a product of the pyrethrum flower. There are

good results reported as to the extermination of adults but not all the larvae are always killed and in many

cases the eggs, or nits hatch later, and the infestation continues.

Reinfestation is also a problem so that whenever lice must be treated all the people involved whether it's a family or a complete school class — should undergo treatment at the same time.

Many people have given up the fight with the shampoos and sprays and have returned to the treatment grandmother used — a mixture of one part kerosene, one part cooking oil and one part vinegar.

The hair is soaked with this mixture, it is left for a few hours, and then washed off. It is highly effective, extremely uncomfortable and is not recommended by the Health Ministry because so one really knows just what the effect of the application of kerosene to the skin over such a large area might have in the long run.

Although the ministry also does not recommend using the shampoos as a preventative measure many mothers do so, even though it is rather expensive. The reason it is not recommended is on a basis of "the less pesticides the better" but as a matter of fact we also know very little about the repeated use of the pyrethrum compounds either. In fact, in ruling out so many of the proven pesticides one pharmacist said: "We have exchanged a devil we know for a devil we don't."

Even after treatment, it is desirable to wash all bedding in a washing machine with hot water and detergent and to thoroughly sun pillows and blankets, sweaters and other items that may harbour the insects or their eggs.

Lidror says that if one is consistent in hygiene and in treatment when necessary then it is not too hard to control the problem.

Although only about 20 per cent of the population have lice, at one time or another, this number is highly concentrated in schoolchildren.

The Health Ministry especially cautions people not to be tempted to use pesticides designed for agriculture or for animals since they can be very dangerous.

Nit pickings

IN view of the seemingly hopeless situation that has developed concerning our attempts at chemical warfare against the lice it seems to me, as an animal behaviourist, that we should explore the time honoured system of eradication so well tested by our nearest and dearest, the greater apes.

Chimpanzees do not shampoo with foams or spray with aerosols, nor would any doting mother chimpanzee countenance the pouring of noxious substances like kerosene on the precious baby... no, no. They simply take care of the problem in a much more pleasant, completely harmless and highly effective manner.

They groom one another, assiduously picking out both the parasites and their eggs. If one can judge by the way they look when doing so, both the groomer and the groomee derive great physical and emotional benefit from the contact.

It seems to me then that this system, having never been given a fair trial, at least not in modern times, should be given serious consideration. Starting with the little ones, our great ape relatives have shown us that not only nannies and pappas groom the young, but every adult in the group spends at least some of their time doing this.

Think, just for a moment, what a lot of neuroses might be prevented if our offspring basked in that much personal attention. The Association of Mothers of Future Psychologists will no doubt protest, but the effort is still well worthwhile. There is also the social aspect of grooming hour in schools which would give the exhausted teacher a free period in which to pair up with her favourite grooming partner for a spell, or devote her attention to grooming her charges.

As for adults, everyone would have his or her preferred grooming partner or partners. The chimps again have decreed that these

partners may be of either ones own sex or the opposite, and there can be many multiple mutual grooming arrangements within the group.

Another factor that has been observed is that the preferred grooming partner is not necessarily the preferred sexual partner and this new found freedom of expression would no doubt go far in removing the pleasure of human touch from the taboo "only you with me" area and into a rewarding, socially enriching association.

It would also make us a lot less chatty. Most of us talk too much anyway and in the *Naked Ape* Desmond Morris points out that our tendency to aimless chit chat is really a compensation for the loss of grooming contact, making it necessary, in order to reach out to anyone, to keep up a constant stream of what he calls "grooming talk."

Last of all, it could have serious political consequences. Wouldn't everyone rejoice to see Arik Sharon reach over and run his fingers through Shulamit Aloni's curls? Or how about the heart warming spectacle of Yuval Ne'eman grooming Yossi Sarid? The possibilities are unlimited. If we really got into it then Sephardis and Ashkenazis, religious and secular, left and right, even Jews and Arabs might find their preferred grooming partners on the other side of some largely imaginary barrier.

And then, in this state of inflation of ministries we could fill at least one portfolio with the role of Minister of Nit Picking. It would keep the minister out of mischief and, if all this gets started soon enough, we should have the most peaceful election ever as people queue up at the polls and, instead of fretting, sit in the warm sunlight and comb one another's hair.

Dvora Ben Shaul

Money's not worth a cent

We wear ourselves out getting the money, but find it doesn't give us satisfaction, says Prof. Abraham Korman. Ya'acov Friedler reports.

"One reason why money does not give us what we think it should is that the things it can buy are not as satisfying, when we can afford them, as we think they're going to be when we can't. Moreover, the more we work to get something, the less it satisfies our expectations, because the more you spend for something the more you expect from it."

"What we can buy is not what we think we can buy and we can't find out till we've bought it," Korman noted.

The "disconfirmed expectations" have reached a stage where the people who've made the money no longer think they should work hard.

"Most of what you buy is junk," "you'll soon get bored with what you bought," "advertising can't be taken as a guide because it doesn't deliver what it promises," "taxes (and in Israel, inflation) will eat up the extra money you can make working harder anyway," "all jobs are boring and every type of work involves repetitive tasks" are the kind of answers he got.

There is another drawback to making money "you pay to make it," in terms of the cost of success at the expense of your family life and friendships. His research among students showed "the young won't believe it till they have the money but not the perfect life." As the

Jewish Sages put it so long ago, "Nobody's as wise as the man of experience."

In American materialism which, Korman noted, "starts where Israeli materialism leaves off," the women who through the various feminist movements are entering the rat race in increasing numbers, putting career before family, are now learning the hard lesson too.

In fact, three specific feminine syndromes have developed in the field.

"The Superwoman" who manages to make a brilliant career but still wants a husband and children and concludes "I'll have to work harder" to have both, but mostly find out that it can't be done.

To spare herself the agony of going mad, "she has to make a decision, but so does everybody else. Men don't get away with it either, but they don't realise it until they've lost the battle." What keeps men going is the illusion that "it won't happen to me, I can have a perfect career and private life too." Women are about to be disillusioned too.

"The Cinderella complex" is what happens to the career woman who in the back of her mind is afraid that her success is really too good to be true, and may give it up and "go into" painting, or some such activity that won't take up all her time. Some of them will keep

the illusion that they'll be able to make as much money out of two days' painting as from a week's work in a career.

Finally, there is the "Sleeping Beauty" who combines career and family, by taking a few years off every few years to raise her children "as they should be." This may well be the ideal, but the fly in the ointment is that "in most firms they won't keep the job open for her."

Women's Liberation has motivated "millions of women to run away from family and kitchen"

into careers which have been instrumental in a 48 per cent divorce rate in the U.S.," and women living with women," Korman said.

Having said all this, Korman conceded that there is still the positive effect of money to be considered. There must, as it were, be more to it for so many to strive so hard to get it.

Korman holds that "money gives you a sense of power, the belief that you can buy your way out of situations you don't like, that you can't be controlled. The richer you are, the more you reach the conclusion that you can't be controlled."

It doesn't really matter whether you can, say, buy off a traffic cop who gives you a speeding ticket, or whether you only believe you could. "The higher up you get, the less the effect of external control on you;

this gives you a sense of power and an arrogance."

Nevertheless, even the rich and powerful "will still suffer from all the sicknesses of urban society," as for instance an appalling suicide rate among the children of the affluent, but "they have the sense of power."

The idea of more money fosters their illusion: "If I had more I'd be satisfied," and "keeps them in their dream world."

"I believe that this sense of having control over outside factors is an illusion which leads them to seek more power. Achievement motivation seems not to be important in a large organisation, but power motivation holds good only up to a middle level of management; higher up it's only the need for power."

Korman's bottom line was that we should recognize, while there is yet time, that money is very limited as a provider of motivation or satisfaction. His advice: "Think again before you commit your life to making money. It won't buy you your dreams. I sense that money is not IT, and those who commit their lives to materialism will find in the end that it has failed them."

Yet, judging from the students he interviewed for his study, few of us are about to take the advice — at least not until we will have learned on our own skins that money is not what we really sought. By that time, however, all we can still do is spend it.

Today is edited by Joanna Yehiel.



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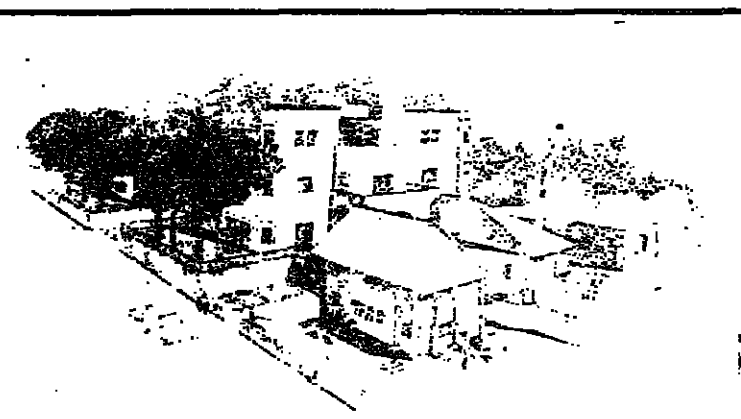
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Ishmael and his brother

By A.E. NORDEN/Jerusalem Post Reporter

WHATEVER WE DO or do not do, the contest between the Jews and the Arabs over the Promised Land will go on and it will continue disturbing world peace. Anyone who is worried that the world will forget the contest completely if we do this or don't do that about the Palestinians forget the contest completely is worrying needlessly.

For the Palestinians are only those Arabs and Moslems most hurt by the Jewish return to the Promised Land and, dispiriting as it may be, the prophetic fact is that the Arabs and we Jews are fated to keep fighting over this sliver of real estate until one side wins and the other loses, or the Messiah comes.

A 20th-century Arab prophet not only foresaw this, but understood that the fight, being over much more than land, must involve what he called "the entire world".

"Two important phenomena, of the same nature and nevertheless opposed, which have not yet attracted anybody's attention, manifest themselves at this time in Asia: Turkey: they are the awakening of the Arab nation and the laudable efforts of the Jews to reconstitute the ancient monarchy of Israel, on a very large scale. These two movements are destined to fight each other continually, until one of them prevails over the other. Upon the final outcome of the battle between these two peoples, representing two opposed principles, the fate of the entire world will depend."

This passage was published by the anti-Semitic and early Arab nationalist Negib Azoury in the same year as David Ben-Gurion of Plosh turned up in Jaffa, 1905. It makes good enough sense 79 years

later to anyone who believes in Scripture or in the psycho-history of peoples, or both.

When Azoury cites "two important phenomena, of the same nature and nevertheless opposed," he could be taking as his text the 16th and 21st chapters of Genesis. There the stories are told of the conception of Ishmael and of Sarah and God convincing the reluctant Abraham to throw Hagar and her son out of the tent and into the burning desert.

Ishmael and Isaac, the Arabs and the Jews, aren't cousins. We're closer than that — we're actually half-brothers. And we have unfinished family business.

According to the Old Testament, one son got the blessing and inheritance from the patriarch and God, while the other was booted out with his mother. The Old Testament says Ishmael will be "a great nation," but nevertheless "a wild man; his hand will be against every man, and every man's hand against him." In any case, the inheritance — the Promised Land — will not be his.

Any real Jew, or for that matter real Christian, knows the relevant biblical chapters and verses. God says to Abraham in Genesis 17: "I will give unto thee, and to thy seed after thee... all the land of Canaan... Sarah thy wife shall bear thee a son indeed; and thou shalt call his name Isaac; and I will establish my covenant with him... As for Ishmael... I will make him a great nation. But my covenant will I establish with Isaac."

MOSLEMS BELIEVE that the Old and New Testaments are completed and corrected by the Koran. Ac-



Expulsion of Hagar, from a painting by Peter Paul Rubens

cording to the Koran, the son who was thrown out was later also blessed, and became a prophet of God. But psycho-historical insight says that Hagar's son will always nurse a fearful grievance. It may lie dormant for thousands of years while the wandering Jews are treated alternatively with contempt and liberality by Christians and Moslems, but what are a few thousand years when it comes to a memory like this? How could anyone, or any people, ever forget or forgive such a thing as happened to Ishmael, or stop fearing that it might happen again?

As soon as the Jews started coming back with big ideas, Arabs such as Azoury understood what was going on: the formerly favoured half-brother was coming back from his wanderings to reclaim his inheritance. Isaac would try to elbow Ishmael across the river and into the desert again, at precisely the moment when the Ishmaelites were getting big, nationalistic ideas of their own.

To the elements of an ordinary fight over a notch of land and the privileges of the top dog, which has been going on now through various permutations for almost a hundred years, you must therefore add a primordial, traumatic memory dating back thousands of years. This makes the fight over the Land of Israel and/or Palestine radically different from that of the German and French tribes over Alsace-Lorraine, the blacks and whites over South Africa, the Flemings and Walloons over Belgium or the pioneers and the Red Indians over America. The stakes for the protagonists between the Mediterranean and the Jordan are dizzying.

If the Palestinian Arabs lose the rest of what we Jews call the Land of Israel, this will mean that they will have lost their entire homeland, a very tangible thing to lose and a cause for great bitterness. But it will also mean that all the Arabs and Moslems, all the sons and adopted sons of the maltreated son, will have lost the symbol of inheritance and

favour. They will have to face the fact that the younger, legitimate son, whose Book is older, has been vindicated, that God has really chosen to bless him and curse the firstborn. And that is a sickening prospect. Never mind that the Arabs already have 21 nation-states of their own, and the other Moslems another 21.

Would such a loss be a sign of God's will? Would a good Moslem submit to it?

No! And again no! A Moslem, an Arab, will never submit to the Jews. How could he, when any serious Moslem — Sunni or Shi'ite, Arab or Persian or anything else — recalls what the Jews did to Mohammed?

Any young man wearing a skull-cup and studying in one of the Moslem academies next to al-Aksa mosque knows that all the biographers of the Prophet agree that it was as a result of tasting poisoned meat given to him by the Jewish girl Zaynab that Mohammed, peace be upon him, died. Any such young man, hitting the books while the communications satellites whizz overhead, also knows that the Messenger went first to the Jews with his news, but they laughed at him.

No wonder he had to make war on them, using many stratagems. No wonder he had to loot their towns in Arabia, kidnap their women, behead their men. The Koran gives voluminous proof that they asked for it. And still the Jews plot and sneer.

The young man in the academy would not be surprised if he were told that a skull-capped Jew standing by what they term the Western Wall, 100 yards from where he is sitting, has just compared the amplified call of al-Aksa's muezzin to the braying of a jackass.

The Jews want to tear down al-Aksa and rebuild their temple! And the communications satellites and F-15 fighter-bombers whizz overhead.

The writer is a member of The Jerusalem Post editorial staff

Making room for everyone

By GREER FAY CASHMAN/Jerusalem Post Reporter

IN MANY HOUSES tonight, an extra place will be set at the Seder table for Jews in lands of oppression, who have been denied the right to emigrate to Israel.

Perhaps it is time we found another symbol to remind us of our absent brethren, so that the extra place at the Seder table can be occupied by an elderly resident of Israel who has nowhere else to go.

Too often, the contributions sent to our funds by pensioners are accompanied by heart-wrenching letters which tell tales of loneliness and near-poverty.

On regular days, a lonely old man or woman might hesitate to accept an invitation to eat at someone else's table. Pride is often stronger than need. But on festivals and Sabbaths, when it is traditional for Jews to share what they have, pride can be easily shelved.

Municipalities and regional councils have arranged communal seders for the elderly, but there are no guarantees that all old people who live alone will get to one of these or to a private seder.

Please make room at your table for those who have nowhere to go, and after Pesach remember to send your contributions to The Jerusalem Post Funds, P.O.B. 81, 910-00 Jerusalem. Please remember to make out separate cheques for The Toy Fund and Forsake Me Not.

A happy and kosher Pesach to all.

"FORSAKE ME NOT"

1510,000 XYZ, Haifa. In loving memory of my father Alfred Disraeli Webber — Rosemary Webber Eichel, Haifa.

154,000 Instead of flowers to the Krauthausers in Rome on their Jubilee anniversary — The Heilbronn, Jerusalem.

152,000 Chana Winkler, Kfar Yehuda. From the Tzeddaka box of Aliza, Ariella and Yehuda Vogel, Raanana, Anneliese and Victor Polak, Kiryat Ono.

151,800 In honour of our dear mothers Kitty Belkoff and Becky Benjamina, both of Raanana on their 84th and 82nd birthdays respectively — Riva and Cyril Morin, Raanana.

151,500 In honour of the 85th birthday of dear grandmother Gertrude Fisher of Philadelphia, Pa. for a long and happy life — Danyael Cantor and Terry Seigal, Jerusalem. Felix and Clara Lugan, Givatayim.

151,000 Brian Blum, Livnat U'Lebanon, Safed. In behalf of the families Lionarous — de Wries — de Ruy — Baruch, And in memory of my parents Harry and Gittel Bernstein — Eve Shorr, Haifa. In memory of Hani and Heini Zader — Harold Adler, Nazareth Illit. In memory of Dr. H.P. Caro — Lili Caro, Tel Aviv. Waterman, Haifa.

15000 Anonymous, Jerusalem. R. Maza, Tel Aviv. In memory of many Seder evenings in House Carmi Ramat Hadar — Moza.

15200 Gussy Hayon, Haifa. \$150 In honour of my good wife — Anonymous, Philadelphia, Pa.

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\$80 Anonymous, Cimarron, Kansas. \$75 Arthur B. Miller, N.Y.

\$50 In memory of my beloved mother and father Bella and Emilie Gross — Dr. Gross, Sun City, Arizona.

\$36 Susan Fleischer, New York, N.Y. \$25 Anonymous, Denning, Washington. I am a year older and would like to honour those who are older and wiser — Yonatan Kahan, Chicago, Ill. In memory of Sarah Olshansky — A.L. Olshansky, Denver, Co.

\$18 In honour of my new grandson Aaron Jacob, brother of Liliana Kate Lawson of Hopewell, Mass. — Grandfather Abraham, Treadwell, N.Y. In honour of the engagement of Rabbi Jay Schissel to Tzippi Rausman, Mezel Tov from the Teitelbaum and Slesinger families, West Hempstead and New York. In loving memory of my beloved parents Meier and Sally Neumann and parents-in-law Peter and Clara Bilewicz — Dr. Leon Neumann, St. Louis, Mo. In loving memory of my beloved sister Gusta Freier, her husband Leo Freier and their daughter Margit Freier — Dr. Leon Neumann, St. Louis, Mo.

\$15 Janis McGilver, Thayer, Ill. \$10 Anonymous, Oklahoma.

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PLENTY OF BACH

MUSIC

Beethoven: Piano Concerto No. 3 in C minor, op. 37; Shostakovich: Karelia Suite, op. 11; Dvorak: Slavonic Dances, No. 4, 10 and 1; Rostislav: Overture, Scenarium.

IT IS A pity that the Netanya Orchestra is seldom heard in our larger cities, as its members play with an infectious elan that goes far to compensate for technical imperfections.

Guest conductor Sidney Fixman, known in England for his advocacy of Jewish and Israeli music, is a thorough professional with a clear beat who communicates his involvement to audience and orchestra. One suspects that his seeming predilection for slow tempi was dictated more by consideration for the orchestra's capabilities than personal conviction. Only in the *Karelia Suite* by Sibelius were these tempi really damaging.

Zecharya Plavin, soloist in Beethoven's *Third Piano Concerto*, confirmed the fine impression he made as a Rubinstein Competition contestant. His playing was excellent, though his interpretation was small-scaled and sometimes at odds with Fixman's more heroic ap-

proach. Only the "Largo" could be seriously faulted, with tempi so languid as to be static.

Best of the evening were the Dvorak *Slavonic Dances*, which the orchestra played with a near-virtuoso sparkle, which delighted the listeners.

We look forward to hearing this conductor again, hopefully in our larger musical centres.

MOSHE SAPERSTEIN

HAIFA SYMPHONY ORCHESTRA, Boris Brott (Canada), conductor; Irit Rub-Steiner, piano. (Haifa Auditorium, April 9). Glick: Sonata for Orchestra (Israeli premiere); Chopin: Piano Concerto No. 1; Haydn: Symphony No. 89 in F major; Kodaly: Galant Tancok (Dances from Galant).

ON HIS first visit to Israel, guest conductor Boris Brott brought a new piece to the concert platform. Irving Glick (b. 1934), president of the Canadian Composers Association, wrote his *Sonata for Orchestra*, sub-titled *Duelist*, as a prayer to express the daily hardships, the moments of beauty and caring in our world. Dedicated to Boris Brott, it was first performed in 1982 by the conductor with the Hamilton Philharmonic

Orchestra, Canada. It is a piece of soul music, full of Jewish melodies with many nice solo parts for winds, trumpet and somehow a great deal of percussion, suitable for show music.

Boris Brott is a resourceful, energetic conductor. Under his guidance, the HSO was in good form most of the time; with affability he achieved understanding and cooperation with the musicians in the orchestra. The result was "alert playing, clarity of textures and at the same time a relaxed atmosphere."

Pianist Irit Rub-Steiner performed the Chopin concerto with ease and technical ability. Her straightforward playing was a success with the audience. She still has to achieve the necessary subtlety of touch to reveal the poetic, introspective mood of this music. Conductor Brott gave her continuous and careful support, and the accompaniment of the orchestra was fine. After that, the lesser known Haydn symphony was almost an anti-climax. Still the presentation had formal clarity and was enjoyable.

Kodaly's colourful suite provided a lively finale for the evening. Under Brott's efficient leadership, the MSO played with gusto, and the warm applause of the audience was well-earned.

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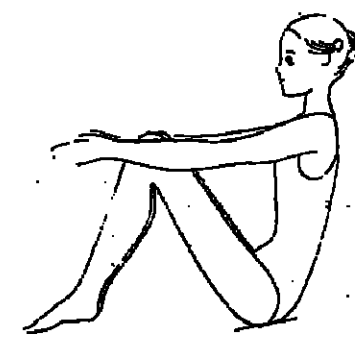


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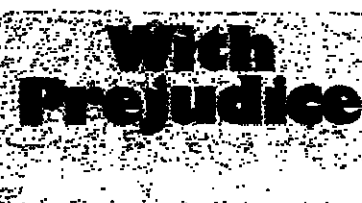


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NATHAN BAR-YAAKOV (Jackson), who died in Jerusalem on April 6, was one of that select band, now sadly depleted, who dedicated their lives to the diplomatic service of the Jewish State years before it came into being. His distinctive contribution, during most of the four decades which he devoted to this task, was in the field of relations with the international labour movement.

Bar-Yaakov was born in the Gorbals, the mainly Jewish slum district of Glasgow, Scotland in 1912, and was brought up by two hard-working women, both widows, his mother and grandmother. He paid his own way, however, through the prestigious Hutchison Grammar School and the University of Glasgow, where he qualified in law.

He joined a law firm in the city, but his career had hardly started when, at the age of 26, came a turning-point in his life. The late Berl Locker, then head of the Jewish Agency's political bureau in London, visited Glasgow and was impressed by Nat Jackson's activity in the young Zionist movement and the local branch of Poeliz Zion, the Diaspora counterpart of Mapai.

Locker invited Jackson to come to London as his aide, with special emphasis on contacts with the Labour Party and the trade unions, and he established close and cordial personal relations with many of its leaders. He also carried out other important missions on behalf of the Zionist Organization and gave evidence, before the Anglo-

American Committee on Palestine. In 1938 he stood as Labour candidate in a by-election in the Cathcart division of Glasgow.

In 1947 he came to settle here, but was sent immediately to Prague to represent the Histadrut at the World Federation of Trade Unions. On his return, he served for a while with Aharon Remez, commander of Israel's infant air force, and then was appointed director of the Histadrut's International Relations Department. He held this position until 1956, when he joined the Foreign Ministry.

With his wide experience in labour affairs, it was only natural that this first assignment abroad should be that of Labour Attaché in Washington. Here, again, his talent for the personal touch stood him in good stead, and his friendships with many leading figures on the American labour scene endured long after his return to Israel, and even after his retirement.

Among his other posts at the Foreign Ministry were those of spokesman and director of the American desk and the Department for International Institutions. From 1963 to 1969 he was Ambassador to Norway. The boy from the Gorbals had come a long way, serving his people well in a variety of positions over a period of 40 years before he retired in 1977.

He is survived by his widow, Lea (a contributor to this paper's book pages), two sons and a daughter.

MISHA LOUVISH

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IN THE LAST two decades millions of people have migrated, either permanently or temporarily, from one country to another. They move, legally or illegally, in search of work or for some other reason. Israel is perhaps the only country in the world that welcomes them. In Israel alone there are 18m. migrant workers, but the phenomenon can be seen all round the globe. In many places, the migrants take their children with them, and the education and integration of these youngsters, often speaking strange languages and with alien backgrounds, poses major problems, both for themselves and for the host nations.

This was the theme of an international conference in Jerusalem on *Educational and Cultural Transition: The Case of Immigrant Youth*, organized by Youth Aliya recently as part of its Jubilee celebrations, with the joint sponsorship of the Jewish Agency and Hadassah.

One of the participants, Jocelyn Barrow, a senior lecturer on education at London University, is the only Caribbean woman to have attained high public office in England. She is a governor of the BBC and a member of the Parole Board for England and Wales. In addition, she is chairwoman of a committee investigating standards achieved in secondary schools for the London borough of Brent, which includes Wembley and Willesden, suburbs which have large Jewish populations.

On the BBC she is intent upon ensuring that blacks get some slices of the cake: she has managed to have a producer and a commentator appointed.

"I was born in Trinidad, and went to London to take a post-graduate course 25 years ago," she said. "I have remained in central London ever since. Of course, I've had a great deal of experience with the problems encountered by immigrants to Great Britain from the Caribbean: I've worked with Caribbean children, and have seen how much resistance they have to over-

PHILIP GILLON reports on an international conference in Jerusalem on immigration

Strangers within the gates

come. Even those who are born in England go through a crisis of identity."

She was openly bitter about the attitude of the British.

The Caribbeans are also British subjects. During the war, they were wanted. When they came as immigrants, they encountered prejudice and discrimination.

"One of the things that intrigued me was a comparison between the adjustment of the Caribbeans and of other groups, particularly the Jews," she went on. "It seems to me that the Jews made a very successful adjustment. First of all, of course, it was easier for them, because they were white-skinned. Then, Judaism provided a very powerful cohesive force, enabling the Jews to become an influential group in British society."

"The Caribbeans are very ambitious, and they value education, just as the Jews do and always did. They know it is the best means of upward mobility. But they have not managed to organize in the way the Jews did. Of course, prejudice based on skin colour is both stronger and easier to express than prejudice based on a white person being Jewish."

One of the spheres in which the Caribbeans are literally outstripping the whites is sport. In soccer, athletics and cricket, they are excelling. Is this having a positive effect?

"On the whole, I would say that it has — there are two blacks in the English national soccer team, and black men and women are doing great things in athletics. But there is also an adverse reaction, based on envy and prejudice. A Yorkshire commentator on cricket said recently that he is thankful the country has a rule that they only take players born in Yorkshire — he meant that he was thankful no Caribbeans could apply. I wonder what he'll do when blacks born in Yorkshire grow up?"

Barrow thinks that there is a lot of envy based on job rivalry.

"With four-and-a-half million unemployed, I suppose it's only natural that whites resent immigrants getting what jobs are going. Nevertheless, I am optimistic. There has to be a change in attitudes, and I think it will come. If we get positive leadership, I reckon we'll see major improvements in the next 10 to 15 years."

SOME 732,000 people, most of them Turks, Moroccans and Surinamese, had immigrated to Holland, said Peter J.A. Adriani, of the Netherlands' National Federation for Youth Welfare, so the country was in a stage of transition from a mono-cultural to a multi-cultural society. This posed deep problems both for the majority and for the minority: they were having to learn how to socialize with each other, and how to develop mutual respect.

Immigration coincided with low



A mixture of people in Piccadilly Circus

(Camera Press)

economic and social status. Many of the children became truants, juvenile offenders, runaways from home. Dutch welfare agencies were having to develop new tools to cope with these "difficult" children.

West Germany now had 4.7m. immigrants who had settled in the country, reported Prof. Lutz-Rainer Reuter, of the University of Hamburg. The attitude of conservative groups in Germany was that the migrants should stay only for a short period, and that they were only entitled to "integration valid for a limited time." But, in reality, most of the migrants, who originally came for a couple of years, intending to make money and go back home, remained and brought their families over to the new country. They were

certainly going to stay. Nevertheless, it was very difficult to see Germany becoming a multi-cultural society.

Prof. Suma Chitnis, of the Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Bombay, who was "thrilled" to be in Israel, said that Israelis should disregard political attitudes. Most Indians looked on Israel with "great interest, respect, even reverence, because we are so impressed by the way you are tackling your problems. We are both old peoples, 5,000 years old."

She did not deal with the problem of migrants, but with that posed by the so-called "scheduled classes," the former Untouchables.

"You must understand that India is really a plurality of states, with variations in food, language, cul-

ture," she said. "The British never disturbed this. They were very good traders, and the main thing they were concerned with was not changing things, so as not to interfere with business."

"The one thing common to Indians was what you might call Hinduism, not as an organized religion but as a way of life. This included respect for the father and the husband, who was like a god. It also included reverence for our places of beauty, like the Himalayas and the Ganges. And there is belief in transmigration of souls, that your destiny is determined by what happened to you in your last life. Hinduism swallowed other religions, such as Islam and Christianity, like a python swallows small snakes."

"The caste system was an integral part of Hinduism. Nevertheless, after India became independent, there was a determined effort to change the destiny of the scheduled classes. There was a total commitment to equality. It was believed that education would provide the instrument: 80 per cent of this class were illiterate, compared to a national average of 36 per cent."

She said that the scheduled classes were given privileges, priorities. Strange things happened. It was very difficult to get into medical schools, so a member of the upper class would marry a member of the scheduled class in order to be admitted to a medical school as a member of the lower group.

Prof. Chitnis concluded: "Every solution creates new problems. But I must say that the scheduled classes have moved a long way in three decades. I am more optimistic now than I ever dared to be."

ONE OF THE world's latest migrant groups is composed of the yordim, emigrants from Israel. Josef Korazim, of the Hebrew University's School of Social Work, described research he had done on 86 Israeli families in New York. He found that these families were very ambivalent, and undecided about whether they wanted to become Americans or to remain Israelis who intended to return to this country.

"Four forces are pulling them back to Israel," he said. "One is the stigma of desertion, the feeling that they are betraying their Zionist upbringing. They were condemned, not only by Israelis, but even by American Jews, who said, 'You belong there — please go back.' The second factor was that most of them had left their extended kin behind in Israel. Sephardis missed large families; Ashkenazis felt that they had deserted parents, who were often Holocaust survivors. The third factor was the wives' dissatisfaction in the U.S. — most of them missed their families, and the support systems prevailing in Israel, which had enabled them to work. Finally, there was the question of the children: as the children grew older, and entered schools and youth movements, so the parents became more anxious that their young should preserve their proud Israeli identity. So, even though they did not enter organized American Jewish life, they sent their children to American Jewish schools."

Feast of freedom

By SHIMON KLIN

EACH SEDER we ask: "Why is this night different from all other nights?" A very good question. We are forbidden to eat hametz and eat matza instead. But is the distinction so sharp that it justifies gathering the whole family at the table to repeat the same story of the Exodus from Egypt, year by year, every Pesach. It is true, moreover, that we have been released from the bondage of Egypt, and have become a free people, but does even this extraordinary event justify the distinction?

It is a custom, and even a mitzva, on Seder night to ask as many questions as possible. However, it seems that the answers to the question: *Ma nishtana ha'laila ha'zeh mi kol ha'leilot?* are many. Firstly, after the youngest child has asked it, the father answers: *Avadim hayinu be'Pharaoh be'Mitzraim* — because we were slaves of Pharaoh in Egypt, and the Lord took us out with a strong hand and outstretched arm. The answer would seem enough. But if one delves a little deeper, according to many Tora commentators it is not so simple. For the answer applies to the present, and to every generation, as we read in the Haggada.

THE SEDER is preceded by the ceremony of searching and burning the hametz. The word hametz means *so le'hametz* — literally, to miss, to leave out, to ignore or to neglect. There is also an allusion to conceit, in the rising of the dough. The hametz must therefore be burnt, so that, at Pesach, when you are reminded that you were a slave in Egypt, you burn out of yourself any vestige of conceit. A Jew at Pesach, therefore, should embark on a little introspection, a little soul-searching.

THE CONNECTION with this, the *Sefer Hachinuch* tells us (Pesachim 11D): "On the evening of the fourteenth day of Nisan we search for the leaven by the light of a candle." The candle signifies the spirit of man. According to *Sefer Hachinuch*, the first 13 days of Nisan are likened to the first 13 years of a boy's life before his bar-mitzva (counting a day for a year). For example, on the 14th day, when he takes on the responsibility of keeping the mitzvot and becomes a man, he should think about what he has omitted during the past 13 years of his life, and by the light of a candle, which means spiritually.

THE GEMARA says also: "Even the poorest Israelite should drink on the Seder night, no less than four cups of wine (Pesachim X:198)." Why four? Because of the four different promises the Lord made to Moses on behalf of the Children of Israel:

1. "Wherefore say unto the children of Israel, I am the Lord, and I will bring you out from under the burden of the Egyptians;
2. "I will rid you of their bondage;
3. "And I will redeem you...;
4. "And I will take you to me as a people."

The fifth promise: "And I will bring you unto the Land" (*Exodus VII*). symbolizes the fifth cup of wine for Elijah, which is called *Elijah's Cup*. We raise that cup when

we open our door near the end of the Seder, and read out aloud: "Pour out they wrath upon the heathen who know thee not..." (There is some disagreement as to whether the fifth promise of redemption is connected with *Pesach*, and *Elijah* is supposed to deal with the problem. When the Messiah comes, he will solve every mystery.)

WHY IS the Haggada written in Hebrew, while a section near it, beginning, *Ha Lachma Ania* (This is the bread of affliction), is written in Aramaic? Because it speaks mainly to the poor and the illiterate, who could neither read nor write. (Domestic Hebrew at this period was mainly Aramaic.)

WHY IS Moses, the Lord's faithful servant, who brought the children of Israel out of Egypt, not even mentioned in the Haggada except in the form of a question from *Shiraz Hayam*?

The answer to this question is the following sentence from the Haggada: "And the Lord brought us forth from Egypt, not by means of a Seraph, nor by means of a messenger, but by the Most Holy, blessed be He, Himself in His glory..."

ON THE first day of Pesach, just before *Mussaf*, we pray for *tal* (dew). There is a special atmosphere in the synagogue at this time. Some *ba'alei tefila* (prayer-leaders) have a special gift for instilling this prayer with intense emotion, and one senses the fall of the dew itself in their prayer. They take the congregation with them.

According to *Sefer Hatoda'a* (*Ellahu ki-Tov*), it is no blessing if rain falls during Pesach, for it damages the crops. Since Pesach is the day of judgment for the crops, we pray for *tal* to keep the crops moist, but not wet, for that will ruin them. (It is at Succot that we pray for rain.)

PESSAH IS known also as a spring holiday, as it falls during the spring month of Nisan. *The Song of Songs* is read in many Ashkenazi synagogues during *Shabbat Halomo'ed* before the reading of the Tora. It is usually read from a Tora Scroll, and a formal benediction (*Birkat Shehayahu*) is recited. The reasons why we read *The Song of Songs* during Pesach are as follows:

- It refers to the departure from Egypt: "I imagine thee, O my love, worthy as my horses in Pharaoh's chariots" (*Song of Songs 1:9*).
- Its themes are love and youth, and Solomon wrote it as a young man, while he wrote *Ecclesiastes* when he was an old one. (*Ecclesiastes* is read at Succot, towards autumn.)
- *The Song of Songs* is interpreted as the expression of God's courtship of the Jewish people. According to most religious commentators, it is holier than any other song. As a *heder* boy in Poland, I recall listening to the rabbi, who would sing these words to a beautiful melody: "Shir Hashirim (*Song of Songs*), a song beyond all other songs, all songs are holy, this song is holier than holy. All songs were sung by a king, and this song by a king and the son of a king..."

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Market mixed on small turnover

TEL AVIV. — The market turned mixed yesterday, the last day of trading before trading resumes during the intermediary days of Pessach, which begin this Wednesday.

If the past is any criteria, the turnover on these two days will be quite low, since many persons are away on vacation. Yesterday's turnover was a low 184,792.2 million.

Seventy-three shares rose by 5 per cent or more yesterday, of which 16 were "buyers only." A full 89 shares fell by 5 per cent or more, with 18 being "sellers only."

The pace of trading was set by the "arrangement" shares of the commercial banks, which remained firm, rising by a minute 0.02 per cent. Nearly all of this rise was due to demand for options or capital notes.

However, the commercial banks not in the arrangement, rose by 1.44 per cent, with most of this action due to demand for First International, which gained 10 per cent. Maritime 0.1 rose by 10 per cent, and Maritime "A" gained 5 per cent ("buyers only").

But the other banks fell quite heavily, with FIBI losing 4.3 per cent, and Danot 5 losing 6.9 per cent. The General Share Index rose by only 0.03 per cent.

The highest gain was chalked up by Harel 5, which rose by 25 per cent, while the biggest loss went to Tagal 5, which fell by 20.5 per cent. Other significant losses went to Elgar bearer, 15 per cent, while Clai

Stock Exchange

Tel Aviv

By MACABEE DEAN

Leasing 0.5 fell by 11.5 per cent.

Interestingly enough, there seems to be a return to a former pattern. When the "arrangement" bank shares were firm, the market was generally mixed; when the "arrangement" shares fell, so did the rest of the market, and when the "arrangement" shares rose, so did the rest of the market. This was followed by trade and utilities, whose index fell by 3.04 per cent.

Mikhal Investments notes that its net after-tax profits for the year ending December 31, 1983 were 156.6 million. However, when this is adjusted for inflation in line with Advisory Opinion 23 of the Institute of Certified Public Accountants, it becomes a loss of 157.1 million.

The company's assets grew to 153.7 billion at the end of 1983, which is a nominal gain of 200.9 per cent at the end of 1983, to stand at 154.1 billion.

The profit per share stood at 606.4 per cent at the end of 1983, compared with 301.9 per cent at the end of 1982.

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range" shares accounting for the overwhelming proportion of all banks shares. This left total turnover in the "free" shares at less than 152,000, or about 5.1 million. This "thin" market caused many shares to rise or fall by a considerable percentage, despite tiny turnovers.

For example, Phoenix Insurance lost 14.8 per cent (174 points) when only 8,600 shares were offered, and shares value at only 153,000 changed hands. Pri-Or gained 5.6 per cent to meet a demand of only 12,000 shares, and the total turnover was only 156,740.

Fedoli "B" rose by 9 per cent to meet a demand of only 305,400, with the turnover being 151,600. Among the various categories, oil exploration was hardest hit, with its index falling by 3.44 per cent. This was followed by trade and utilities, whose index fell by 3.04 per cent.

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Commercial Banks

Bank	Price	Change
Bank Leumi	1900	+100
Bank Hapoalim	624	+107
Bank Hapoalim A	528	+11
Bank Hapoalim B	550	+10
Bank Hapoalim C	435	+13
Bank Hapoalim D	358	+43
Bank Hapoalim E	426	+22
Bank Hapoalim F	309	+19
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Hotels, Tourism

Hotel	Price	Change
Gale Zohar	729	-11
Gale Zohar A	256	n.c.
Gale Zohar B	845	n.c.
Gale Zohar C	459	n.c.
Gale Zohar D	493	n.c.
Gale Zohar E	220	n.c.
Gale Zohar F	276	n.c.
Gale Zohar G	115	n.c.
Gale Zohar H	222	n.c.
Gale Zohar I	138	n.c.
Gale Zohar J	222	n.c.

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Hotels, Tourism

Hotel	Price	Change
Gale Zohar	729	-11
Gale Zohar A	256	n.c.
Gale Zohar B	845	n.c.
Gale Zohar C	459	n.c.
Gale Zohar D	493	n.c.
Gale Zohar E	220	n.c.
Gale Zohar F	276	n.c.
Gale Zohar G	115	n.c.
Gale Zohar H	222	n.c.
Gale Zohar I	138	n.c.
Gale Zohar J	222	n.c.

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Hotels, Tourism

Art Ratz
Editor and
Managing Director

THE JERUSALEM
POST

Erwin Frenkel
Editor

Founded in 1932 by GERSHON AGRON, who was Editor until 1955. Editor 1955-1974 TED LURIE. Editor 1974-1975 LEV BEN DOR. EDITORIAL OFFICES AND ADMINISTRATION: The Jerusalem Post Building, Romema, Jerusalem P.O. Box 81 (91000) Telephone 528181 Telex 26121. TEL AVIV 11 Rehov Carlebach, P.O. Box 20126 (61201) Telephone 294222. TEL AVIV 16 Rehov Nordau, Hadar HaCarmel, P.O. Box 4810 (31047) Telephone 645444. Published daily, except Saturday, in Jerusalem, Israel by The Jerusalem Post Ltd. Printed by The Jerusalem Post Press in Jerusalem Registered at the G.P.O. Copyright of all material reserved, reproduction permitted only by arrangement.

Nissan 14, 5744 • Rajab 14, 1404

The legacy of inflation

IT IS AN IRONIC comment on the times that there should have been surprise and relief that inflation in March, widely expected to be between 11 and 13 per cent, was a "mere" 10.7 per cent. In fact, the certainty that in April prices will go up by some 20 per cent makes March look like a month of stability.

If further proof was needed that inflation is Public Enemy Number One, then the data published yesterday by the Central Bureau of Statistics supplied it. As far as the economy as a whole is concerned, 1984 will go down in history as a lost year. None of the objectives which Finance Minister Yigal Cohen-Orgad set himself when he took over the Treasury last October have been approached, let alone achieved. The only exception is the erosion of real wages, from which the finance minister hoped to obtain a contraction of private consumption and a fall in imports.

The exercise misfired. The shock treatment meted out was too harsh and caused a sufficient number of those with financial reserves to divert their savings to prop up the consumption standards to which they had become accustomed. Those left in the lurch were young people, the lowest income groups, and new immigrants without capital. The recession that was to improve the balance of payments, and ultimately to wind inflation down, has receded quickly.

The policy that led to the present state of affairs was devised before elections were in the offing. Any of the conceivable corrective measures that might have been taken if elections were not three months away are now ruled out. Inflation will run on at a rate that makes even an improvement in the balance of payments illusory. The root cause of inflation remains — namely the present government's commitment, for as long as it is in power, to spending at the rate of a billion dollars a year more than the economy can afford on the occupation of southern Lebanon, on settlements in the West Bank, on its junior coalition partners and so forth.

If the coming elections return the Likud to power — and that will, if it happens, probably mean even more political bribery of splinter parties — the basic causes of inflation will not be attacked. On the contrary, if the Likud is returned to power, it will see that as a mandate to step up the speed of its present course. The economy will be led white and the burden will fall even more heavily on those who have borne most of it so far.

But even if the Labour Alignment is voted into power three months hence, it will be August or even September before a new government is formed, and still more time is needed to translate even the best programmes formulated in the opposition into operative policy measures, many of which also require legislation by the new Knesset. By the time all these can take effect, the current year will reach its end.

The Israeli public has become wise to the ways of inflation. It knows all that, and will conduct itself on the basis of the expectation that hyperinflation will go on and that until the elections and for some time after, there will be a boom and economic policy will tread water. The expectation will be a self-fulfilling prophecy.

The legacy that the present government will leave behind, either to itself or to an Alignment government, is not something one would like to think of today, on the eve of Pessah, the festival of deliverance.

Israel-Soviet dialogue could defuse dangers

By THEODORE H. FRIEDGUT

WITH THE exception of a brief period in 1947-48, Soviet-Israeli relations have rarely been cordial, even when normal diplomatic ties existed. Since the severing of relations following the Six Day War, Soviet attitudes have ranged from stern condemnation to vituperative hostility.

A case in point is the prominent Soviet role in promoting and publicizing the UN resolution equating Zionism and racism. Nevertheless, it is not usual to find the Soviet Union questioning Israel's moral and legal right to exist, or threatening Israel with the possibility of direct Soviet attack. Such is the content of a recent article by one Sergei Losev, entitled "The Threat to Peace in the Middle East," which appeared in the February 1984 issue of U.S.A., the monthly journal of the prestigious Moscow Institute for the Study of the U.S. and Canada.

The article should be regarded as an authoritative statement of Soviet policy, and, as such, should be given weighty consideration and a serious answer by Israel's authorities.

For several years prior to 1967, Losev served as a Tass correspondent in Israel. He is said to be fluent in Arabic, knows more than a little Hebrew, and keeps abreast of Middle East affairs. Since leaving Israel he has advanced to the post of director-general of Tass, and at the 1981 Communist Party Congress he was elected to the party's Central Auditing Committee, adding to his political prestige.

The publication of his article in a journal devoted to the politics, economy and ideology of the U.S. would also seem intended to draw special attention to its content. Should the authorship and placing of the article not prove sufficient to convince readers of its authority, Losev removes any remaining doubt by closing the article with a quote from a formal Tass statement on Lebanon, ending with the sentence, "In the leading circles of the Soviet Union, it was considered necessary to warn the U.S. government in all seriousness regarding this..."

But the reader of the article soon discovers that the threat is not so much against the U.S., though much of the discussion is of American

policy in Lebanon. The heart of the article consists of two distinct threats against Israel's continued existence as a state.

Shifting from American policy in the Middle East to American-Israeli strategic cooperation, and from there to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, Losev writes: "In refusing to implement the U.N. resolution of 1947 on the establishing of two states in Palestine (Jewish and Arab), Israel itself is undermining the international and legal basis of the existence and recognition of the Israeli state, which was established in keeping with this resolution."

Now Soviet leaders are well aware that the Arab countries which invaded Israel in 1948 took no steps then or subsequently towards setting up an Arab state in Palestine; that inter-Arab enmities have played no small part in frustrating Palestinian aspirations and that Jordan, the closest Arab neighbour to such a state, should it ever be established, vies with Syria as the least willing to promote or permit an independent Palestinian state.

They are equally aware that a number of Arab leaders are still totally committed to the destruction of Israel, and that of all the Arabs, extreme or moderate, only the Egyptians have firmly committed themselves to peace and full recognition of Israel.

The courage and political realism of the Egyptians evoked no word of appreciation in the Soviet press. In fact, the Camp David agreement is continuously attacked by Soviet commentators, though the terms of the Israeli-Egyptian peace treaty in fact meet all the demands set forth by the Soviet Union, except for excluding the U.S.S.R. from any role in the making and implementing of the agreement.

Nevertheless, the cold political reality is that Losev's threat of a campaign to delegitimize the state of Israel constitutes a new departure in Soviet policy. Extreme as it is, Losev's formulation is not a total surprise, for Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko hinted at the possibility of such a shift in a press conference almost a year ago.

In discussing Soviet support for the establishing of Israel in 1947 and

Soviet recognition of Israel's right to a secure, peaceful existence since then, Gromyko noted that Soviet support had been given to an Israel which would live peacefully with her neighbours, and not an Israel such as had invaded Lebanon.

In previous private dealings with Arab leaders, a number of high-level Soviet representatives had pointed out that attempts to achieve the physical destruction of Israel were both impractical and unacceptable politically to the USSR. The protocols of a 1979 session between Soviet leaders and PLO leader Yasser Arafat were captured by the IDF in Lebanon, and published by Hebrew University Professor Rafi Israeli. They reveal Gromyko as hinting to the Palestinians that negotiation rather than force is the key to the solution of the Arab-Israeli conflict. Now it would seem that even this small, private urging towards a diplomatic settlement may be silenced.

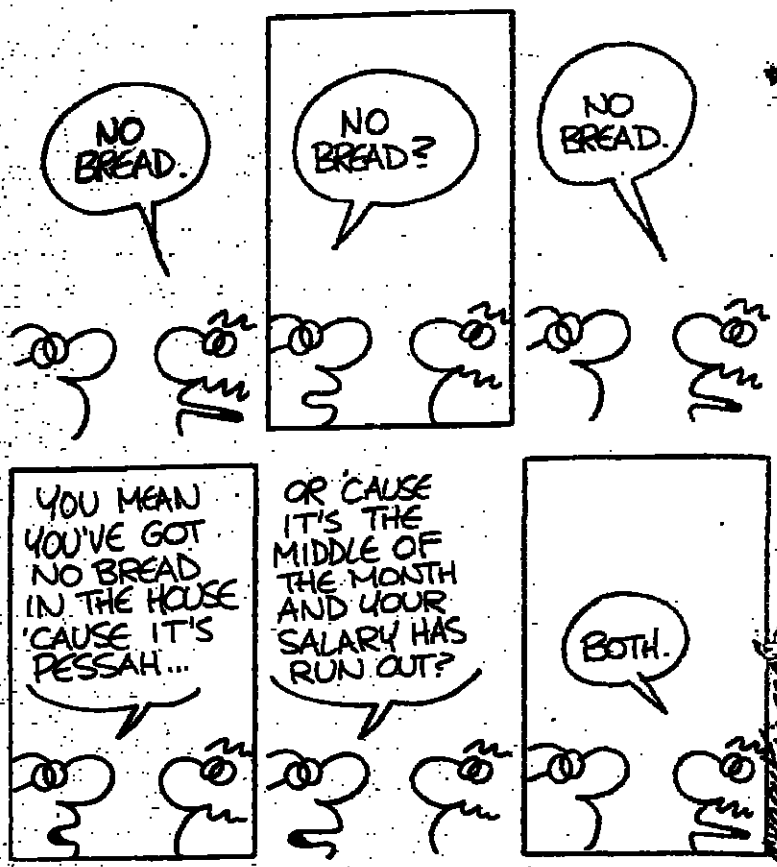
AS THOUGH this were not sufficient, Losev adds a second threat. He writes: "In 1953 the government of Israel gave an official undertaking that Israel would not take part in any anti-Soviet military blocs and would not permit foreign military bases on her territory.... In offering military bases to the Pentagon, the Shamir government not only turns Israel's territory into the target for a counterblow, but undermines the basis of Israel's existence as a state."

Losev's reference is to a letter of July 6, 1953 from Moshe Sharett to Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov. This letter served as the basis for the renewal of diplomatic relations between the two countries, severed six months earlier at the height of Stalin's anti-Semitic terror campaign, suspended only after his death in March 1953.

However, Sharett's letter makes no mention of foreign bases on Israel's soil. This part is purely Losev's invention and points to the real source of Soviet anxiety over the American-Israeli memorandum of strategic cooperation. The Soviet Union, which from 1973 to the abortive Lebanon war saw its own presence in the Middle East eroded steadily considered the American military presence in Lebanon a threat, fearing it would be expanded into a base for an American offensive aimed at rolling back all vestiges of Soviet influence, particularly in Syria.

As with the accusation of Israel over the non-establishment of an Arab state in Palestine, the Soviet leaders must be aware of the distortions and over-simplifications in Losev's argument. They know full well that there are not, nor have there ever been, any foreign bases

Dry Bones



in Israel. (The Soviet Union once had bases in Egypt; today it has a base in Libya, and it maintains service facilities for its fleet in Syrian ports.) As seasoned political realists, they ought to understand that the "American-Israeli strategic cooperation" is more wishful thinking on the part of Israel's government than military fact.

It is also no secret that the U.S. has pointedly snubbed Israel's advances on the subject of storing even emergency medical supplies here, let alone the "heavy weapons" specified by Losev.

It is also pertinent to point out that Sharett's letter to Molotov was written in anticipation of mutual good relations. The Soviet severing of diplomatic relations; its unlimited arms shipments to Israel's most intransigent foes in the Arab world, its denunciation of the Israel-Egypt peace treaty, and an ongoing propaganda campaign against Judaism, Zionism, and Israel in the Soviet press capped by Losev's threats against Israel's legitimacy and existence cannot be ignored in judging whether the 1953 undertaking can be considered still in effect.

QUITE CLEARLY there is no confidence and very little understanding of either side's sensitivities in the present state of Soviet-Israeli relations, and matters appear to be going from bad to worse.

Such a situation is dangerous to both sides. The introduction of SAM-5 and SS-21 missiles into Syria has created a new and worrisome level of Arab military potential against Israel. Losev's threat of a Soviet "counter-blow" against Israel compounds this anxiety. Israel's leaders will be gravely in error if they dismiss this escalation as merely post-Lebanon Soviet bluster.

At the same time, the leaders of the USSR would do well to remember what was once an axiom of their Middle East policy-making: that a Soviet attack on Arab, or Soviet acquiescence in Arab attempts to annihilate Israel could lead to a Soviet-American conflict and global holocaust.

This apocalyptic nightmare, which Losev's article places squarely within the realm of possibility, should be enough to goad both sides into action. Israel's policy has always been that normal relations with all states are a desideratum. The Soviet Union for its part, maintains diplomatic relations with regimes far more actively hostile to the USSR than Israel.

Perhaps normal diplomatic relations are not immediately attainable in the current climate of global and Middle Eastern politics, but certainly unofficial bilateral discussions by political figures or specialists in international law and relations could serve to clarify the issues between the two states. Most assuredly such debate could contribute to laying a basis of mutual understanding. On this basis, even the disagreements between the two parties would be more accurately defined and understood, and would therefore be less dangerous both to the principals and to world peace.

The Hebrew University's Centre for Soviet and East European Research could serve as an ideal setting for such discussions. In recent years the Hebrew University has hosted public figures and academics from Poland, Rumania, Hungary and Yugoslavia. There is no reason why an Israeli-Soviet dialogue should not begin on Mount Scopus.

The author, a specialist in Russian studies, teaches at the Hebrew University.

READERS' LETTERS

THE FALASHAS

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — I take exception to remarks quoted in Charles Hoffman's report "How to bring more American immigrants," and attributed to UJA missions Director Alvin Gilens (February 7). Referring to the effectiveness of UJA fund-raising missions to Israel, he said: "Most mission participants are visiting Israel for the first time, and we have to show them something exotic, something that 'sells,' like Ethiopian Jews or slums."

To link Ethiopian Jews with slums is an appalling and cynical connection of separate issues related only in the sense that both must represent high priorities on our current agenda.

The Ethiopian Jews now taking their rightful place in Israeli society deserve the unqualified support of Jews everywhere. When the cause is real, when our giving is motivated by conviction, then sensitive fund-raisers know that what "sells" is sincerity and the full appreciation of our obligation. Mission participants need not be manipulated by Gilens or anyone else into a compassionate response.

Up until about a year ago visiting Ethiopian Jews was never a part of any mission, nor was the idea to include visiting them the result of any UJA policy. These visits were put on mission itineraries because some individuals in the groups insisted on seeing the Falashas.

NATE SHAPIRO,
President,
American Association for
Ethiopian Jews
Highland Park, Illinois.

TRAVEL TAX

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — As a mother of American children and grandchildren who have made aliyah to Israel, it seems to me to be an unfair burden for them to pay \$100 tax in order to visit their parents in time of need, especially in an emergency. Such visits are not a vacation, but a family obligation in keeping with Jewish tradition.

I sincerely hope that the law will be changed soon so that olim travelling to visit their family will be spared this extra financial burden.

MOLLY FISHMAN
Beersheba (Deerfield Beach, Florida).

EDUCATIONAL TV

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — We are parents of children aged three to seven, fans of Educational TV's programme, *Rehov Sumsum*. We are North Americans who saw the original programme often. There, we were impressed by the effort made not to fall into common stereotypes of boys and girls. In America, they tried to present varied roles for men and women and to emphasize options. In the Israeli programme, the reverse is happening.

In almost every episode, we see a boy going to his father (or other adult male) for advice on technical matters, and a girl talking about beauty and appearance. Whenever there is building to do, a boy does it. When someone is in need, a girl goes to help. It is unfortunate that here in Israel, Educational TV has not succeeded in being more open and presenting our children with more choices. We have already lost interest in taking our children to see *Rehov Sumsum*.

It is our opinion that, if it is worth copying an American programme, it is worth copying its intention as well. Our children deserve a programme with a more balanced perspective.

KAREN CHARNON
CHARLIE LION
SU SCHACHTER
Kibbutz Gezer.

INTERMARRIAGE

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — If one follows logically the thinking of Professor Calvin Goldscheider, ("Researcher says U.S. Jews not disappearing" — April 4), a Jew who marries a non-Jew contributes one Jewish family to the statistics. Two Jews who each marry a non-Jew add two Jewish families to the statistics. Two Jews who marry each other only add one Jewish family to the total number. Therefore, it would seem desirable to encourage intermarriage, no?

A Jew is not defined by how he feels or by the neighbourhood he chooses to live in. Children of intermarriage, where the mother is not Jewish, will not be accepted as Jews, regardless of their behaviour, will not be permitted to marry Jews in a religious ceremony, and the declining number of U.S. Jews will indeed become a reality.

Nof Yam. FRIEDA GOLDBAUM

URGENT APPEAL

We appeal to the community at large on behalf of a prominent young man stricken with a rare disease. This father of eleven children is in need of extensive medical care, while currently unable to support his considerable family. Medical necessity also requires his immediate removal to proper accommodations. This dire situation and its unbearable financial burden move us to appeal to YOU.

The Committee for Humanitarian Assistance

Prof. Benyamin Zeev Frankel
Hebrew University,
Jerusalem

Prof. Yehuda Halevy
Technological High School,
Jerusalem

Rabbi Avraham Cabana Shapira
Chief Rabbi of Israel, Jerusalem

File no. (1) — 297/83

I wish to add my fervent appeal

In these few lines I wish to add my voice to the appeal for the head of a distinguished family with underage children, who has been stricken with a severe illness. This man is bedridden and unable to provide for his large family, in addition to the heavy outlay required for his medical treatment.

I therefore call upon my fellow Jews to assist the family in this difficult situation, in particular since the doctors have ordered the patient to change his present flat for a more appropriate one if he is to improve his physical condition.

All who lend a hand in this mitzva will surely receive the blessings of the Almighty and prosper in all their endeavours.

With our greetings,
Avraham Shapira
Chief Rabbi of Israel

CONTRIBUTIONS

should be sent to "Keren Hatzala", c/o:

1. Adv. Gershon Holtzer, 1 Rehov Hagidem, Jerusalem 94590

2. Bank Hapo'alim, branch no. 533, acc. no. 54303, Jerusalem

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